

# VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

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## POLITICAL SHOVE-HALFPENNY



### A STORY TOLD AT THE "VOTES FOR WOMEN" DINNER

"A Child came to me the other day and said, 'We've got rid of me father!' I said, 'How was that?' She said, 'We was moving, and me father didn't know the house where we was going. So when mother got all the furniture on the cart, he was playing shove-a-penny in the public; and while he was playing, we moved!'"

"Some politicians tell us to-day that we are not getting any nearer our goal. But while those men are playing shove-halfpenny in Parliament, we are moving!"

(Mary Neal at the Connaught Rooms, December 4.)

#### CONTENTS

PAGE	PAGE
Our Cartoon .....	157
The Outlook .....	157
Witch Trials of the 16th Century.—III. By Joseph Clayton.....	159
Votes for Women Fellowship .....	159
Liberal Member Threatens Resignation on Suffrage Question .....	160
Women's Claim to be Solicitors .....	161
Christmas Books .....	162
The Woman's Theatre. By H. W. N. ....	163
Bringing the Law Into Con- tempt.....	164
Votes for Women Table Talk .....	165
Great Protest by the Church Rebel Woman and the Go- vernment .....	167
The Movement Abroad .....	168
The Woman's Movement and the Sick Child .....	169
Comparison of Punishments The White Slave Trade .....	169
Correspondence .....	170
What is Liberalism Coming To? .....	170
General News .....	171

#### DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

#### THE OUTLOOK

The Liberal Party can exist without Mr. Asquith; it can exist without Mr. Lulu Harcourt; it cannot exist without Liberalism.

These words, which formed the closing sentence of our leading article last week, have been strikingly

illustrated by a significant event which has just taken place. Mr. Barton, the senior Liberal M.P. for Oldham, has decided to terminate his political connection with Oldham in consequence of his views upon the urgency of woman suffrage.

#### The Breaking Point

The final breach was brought about in consequence of the action of the Liberal Executive with regard to the great demonstration on Saturday last in Oldham, at which Mr. Asquith was the principal speaker and Mr. Barton occupied the chair. The prominent Liberal women workers in the borough asked for tickets to be present at the meeting, and subsequently narrowed down their request to an application for fifteen tickets. This request was supported by Mr. Barton, who intimated to the Executive that he regarded the matter as one of principle. The request was refused. At the same time other ladies, the wives and personal friends of important Liberal politicians, were admitted.

#### A Matter of Principle

An attempt was first made in the Press on Tuesday last to treat the whole matter as one of personalities, but Mr. Barton, in his letter to the *Manchester Guardian* on Wednesday and in his interview with

the correspondent of that paper, completely disposes of this view. He says:—

The Executive very properly welcomed the ladies in the Prime Minister's party, and also the ladies who accompanied Lord Emmott, and I for one should be delighted to see Lady Emmott on any Liberal platform. The Executive told me that if I had chosen to bring a party they also would have been admitted in exactly the same way. I replied that that made the case worse, because it came to this—that I could introduce relatives who had done nothing for Liberalism in Oldham, and they would be welcomed, but I could not obtain admission for women who had worked devotedly for the Liberal cause in the town.

"Had I acquiesced," he says in his letter, "in this position, I might have retained a seat in Parliament, but I should have lost my own self-respect."

#### Woman Suffrage the Root Cause

But Mr. Barton goes further in his explanation. He makes it perfectly clear that it is his loyal adherence to woman suffrage and the refusal of the Liberal Party to acknowledge the essentially Liberal character of this reform which is driving him out of its ranks. "Now that Home Rule is a settled issue," he writes, "I regard women's suffrage as the greatest thing in politics, and as being in the direct line of Liberal evolution and the economic deliverance of the wage-earner—of this there can be no better proof

than the fact that the opposition to this cause is forcing the Liberal Party into courses opposed to the whole spirit of Liberalism."

#### The whole Issue in Microcosm

It is therefore abundantly clear that the matter of the tickets was only the straw which showed to Mr. Barton the way the wind was blowing. And for our own part we think he was perfectly right. For though it is a small matter in itself whether certain women go to a meeting or not, it is not a small matter that women should be admitted as wives of men Liberals and excluded as themselves women Liberal workers. The issue is, in fact, that of the equality of women with men which is raised in this question in microcosm, and is raised in woman suffrage in macrocosm.

#### Splitting the Party

We write these notes before the meeting of the Oldham Liberal Executive, which was to take place on Wednesday night, and therefore without knowing the final decision with regard to Mr. Barton's position. But whatever be the result of this particular issue, we repeat our warning to the Liberal Party that they cannot meet the difficulty with regard to woman suffrage by denying the fundamental principles of Liberalism. If they think to stave it off by a policy of negation, so as not to split the Cabinet, they will find in the end that they have split the whole Liberal Party itself from top to bottom.

#### A Counterblast

In this connection it is interesting to notice that a protest has been forwarded, it is said, to the Prime Minister by anti-suffrage Liberals, complaining that Mr. Illingworth and Mr. Gulland (Liberal Whips) are making a promise of support to woman suffrage an essential condition for recommendation of prospective Liberal candidates. This is no doubt a counter-blast to the protest that Suffrage-Liberals are making against the circular sent out by anti-suffragist members of the Cabinet, to which we referred last week. In Liberal quarters an enquiry into the whole circumstances is being demanded, and a fear is expressed that this is only the beginning of a serious split in the ranks.

#### Arrest of Mrs. Pankhurst

On Thursday in last week Mrs. Pankhurst arrived home from America. Before, however, the ordinary passenger tug was allowed to approach her ship, a special police boat came alongside, and under cover of two Dreadnoughts Mrs. Pankhurst was arrested and conveyed ashore to Plymouth. From there she was driven in a police motor across Dartmoor to Exeter Prison.

#### What the Government Think

We have no doubt that Mr. McKenna and the Government as a whole imagine that in acting in this prompt way they did a very clever thing. We are quite certain, on the contrary, that (apart from the inhumanity of the proceeding to which they are no doubt quite indifferent) they did a very foolish one. In the first place, they have given an object lesson which will be clearly understood not only in this country, but in the United States and elsewhere, of their methods in dealing with women. Sir Edward Carson may stir up rebellion in Ulster and openly drill his Orangemen for the express purpose of resisting the arms of the Crown by force. Not a hair of his head is touched. Mr. Larkin is given a full release from gaol in order to appease the electors. Mrs. Pankhurst is imprisoned over and over again.

#### "Cat and Mouse" Act Illustrated

In the second place, they have succeeded in illustrating afresh the utter futility of the Cat and Mouse Act. Mrs. Pankhurst immediately adopted the hunger strike in prison; and by Sunday her condition had become so serious that she was released on licence. On Monday she travelled to London, and on Tuesday to the Continent, but it is announced that she will return to England in time to speak at meetings next week. The Government may say that at least they have prevented her from addressing the meeting at Earl's Court last Sunday and the other meetings for which she was billed during the current

week, but the indignation aroused on her behalf both at the meetings and outside in her absence is far more damaging to them than the most fiery speeches could have been, and far more provocative of disorder. We note that no less than £11,500 was raised at the meeting at Earl's Court on behalf of the W.S.P.U. funds, in addition to the £4,500 collected by Mrs. Pankhurst in the course of her tour in the United States.

#### Miss Sylvia Pankhurst and Miss Lake

Not content with arresting Mrs. Pankhurst herself, the Government have further effected the re-arrest of Miss Sylvia Pankhurst and Miss Agnes Lake, both prisoners on licence under the Cat and Mouse Act. Miss Sylvia Pankhurst was arrested on Tuesday night as she was leaving a meeting in the Shoreditch Town Hall, held in connection with the recently-formed "people's army." Miss Lake was arrested outside her house at Leytonstone on the same evening; so far as we are aware, she has been taking no part whatever recently in the suffrage agitation, and has been allowed to remain seven weeks untouched by the Government. This shameful use of discretionary power to arrest or leave unarrested, of which these events are flagrant examples, form the subject of our leading article this week.

#### Lord Lansdowne's Defence of Rebellion

Meanwhile, even Lord Lansdowne has come out as a champion of rebellion. Speaking at Glasgow last week he declared that he had no patience with the smug critics who held up their hands in horror over the action which was being taken in Ulster at this moment by Sir E. Carson and his friends. In the course of his speech he said:—

We are all law-abiding people in this country, but there sometimes comes a point when even the most law-abiding citizen will turn. That point in the case of Ulster has been reached.

If the rebellion point has been reached in Ulster for men who are still to have votes under whatever government is instituted, has it not long been passed for women, who not only have no voice whatever in the laws by which they are governed, but who have been tricked and humbugged by politicians for the past fifty years?

#### The Church and Forceful Feeding

The great meeting in the Queen's Hall last Friday was a striking demonstration of the growing indignation which is being aroused by the inhuman practice of forcible feeding in prison adopted by the Home Secretary. The Bishop of Kensington presided, and three other Bishops—Glasgow, Guildford, and Leicester—as well as the Dean of Lincoln, Rev. Scott Holland, and the Headmaster of Repton, sent messages in protest. The speakers included Canon Simpson, Sir Victor Horsley, Mr. Mansell-Moullin, Rev. L. Donaldson, and Rev. A. Cornibee. Emphatic as were the speakers, the audience showed itself still more determined, and no condemnation of militancy itself was allowed to pass unchallenged.

#### The Tax on Marriage

In a speech on Saturday last at Oldham Mr. Asquith announced the intention of the Government to carry out next session a reform of the income-tax. The question which concerns women is whether this proposed reform is to include the removal of that method of assessment of the incomes of husband and wife which we have referred to in this paper as the "tax on marriage." The existing "marriage tax" is by far the most important of all the anomalies in our present financial system, and unless the Government are going to face it fairly and squarely, their vaunted "reform" will be merely another example of tinkering.

#### The "Votes for Women" Dinner

Some amusing stories were told last week at the dinner in honour of the Literary Contributors of this paper held at the Connaught Rooms. Mr. Zangwill, proposing the toast of the "Movement," illustrated its progress by the sayings of the younger generation; Miss Cicely Hamilton referred to the fact that to-day, for the first time, it was possible for a woman to express her real thoughts in public. Mr. Pethick Lawrence, from the chair, propounded the riddle,

"When does a man become a mother?" and answered it to the satisfaction of the journalists present by saying, "When he is the editor of a paper." The other speakers included Mr. Nevins, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mr. John Scurr, Miss Mary Neal, Mr. Henry Harben, and Miss Evelyn Sharp. Some extracts from the speeches will be found on page 165.

#### The Woman's Theatre

Under the able management of Miss Inez Bensusan, the "Woman's Theatre," which is giving a week's performances at the Coronet, is proving a triumphant success. The opening night, Monday, was devoted to a production of "La Femme Seule," by Brioux, translated by Mrs. Bernard Shaw. We tender our congratulations to Miss Janette Steer, who "produced" the play so ably, and to Miss Lena Ashwell, who filled the title rôle with such spirit. A very hearty reception was given to the performance by a house crowded in every part, and we do not think either actors or management need be very much concerned with the somewhat spiteful criticisms which appeared next morning in the columns of the daily Press. The latter half of the week is to be devoted to performances of "A Gauntlet," by Björnson.

#### Women not to be Solicitors

The decision in the Court of Appeal, upholding Mr. Justice Joyce's judgment that women are not entitled to become solicitors, renders it necessary that an Act of Parliament shall be passed specifically opening this profession to women. We note that even the Master of the Rolls, giving judgment, admitted that many women, and in particular the present plaintiff, were in education, intelligence, and competency superior to many candidates who would go up for the Law Society's examinations, but added that with that, of course, the Court had nothing to do. We doubt, however, whether there is much chance of this reform being placed on the statute book until women secure first of all the elementary rights of citizenship implied by enfranchisement.

#### The Bethell Mystery

Inquiries as to the facts of the Bethell case have been prosecuted with vigour during the past week, but we regret to inform our readers that we are not able yet to give them positive information. We hope to be able to do so in our next issue.



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# WITCH TRIALS OF THE 16th CENTURY

By Joseph Clayton

## III.

(The two former articles of this series appeared in VOTES FOR WOMEN on November 21 and 28.)

The anti-feminist terror that brought thousands of women in Germany to the torture chamber, and to the stake, was quickened by every fresh trial and execution. In the break-up of the Catholic Church in that land, with the accompanying relaxation of morals, and discarding of outward restraints of decency, things went from bad to worse in this shocking business of the witch trials.

The belief in witchcraft and sorcery by which all brains were possessed, and the concomitant terror of witches that had become a regular popular craze, were perpetuated and strengthened on the one hand by the growing demoralisation around, while, on the other hand, they were an abundant source of vice and depravity, of greed, calumny, faithlessness, envy, persecution, bloodthirstiness, and murder. In trials innumerable the moral depravity of the torturers, the officials, judges, and clerks played a disgraceful part, whilst in case after case the whole judicial procedure against the witches was conducted in such a manner that many thousands of innocent victims were driven, mad with torture, to the stake, and out of every funeral pile rose a fresh crop of witches.

The rabid folly of the witch baiters did not always accomplish its murderous purpose, as may be learnt from an incident at Solnic, in Bohemia, in 1587.

In this place the president of the butcher's guild accused the caters of a neighbouring castle of stealing, with the help of the devil, the cows' milk for several leagues round, and making people sick and infirm. One day when out walking, she was seized by a mob of men, led on by the butcher's president, haled to prison, and brought to trial as a witch. The caters pleaded her innocence, and declared that she was a Christian, and had taken the holy communion in the parish church the previous Sunday. But the master butcher brought an important witness against her, a man who had formerly served in the castle, and who now swore "by his soul" that the woman was a witch.

"For I saw in the castle," he said, "a black toment which was not much smaller than a year old calf. The animal appeared twice a week in the servants' room, and something had always to be kept back for him to eat. Once when there were dumplings for supper three of them were put aside for him; and because the maid servant took one of them the cat made a rumpus about it the whole night through, and kept on running backwards and forwards on the leads, crying out repeatedly, 'One dumpling, two dumplings, the third the maid has eaten.' In revenge the cat flew at the maid, and scratched so roughly at her hair that it was a long time before she could make it tidy again."

This same witness also said that on the occasion of a certain Witches' Sabbath the caters flew on a rake up and out of the chimney. This was all so true that he was ready to die for it. During the trial the crowd outside the court cried out, "Burn her, burn her! To the stake with her!" Nevertheless, the court decided not to convict the accused.

The acquittal robs the story of tragic interest, but does not lessen its value as an illustration of the intelligence of the anti-feminist mob of the time.

The story of the witch trials at Esslingen in 1562 is quite a fair sample of what was taking place over the greater part of Germany. There was a heavy and disastrous hailstorm that summer at Esslingen, and the Lutheran pastor, Thomas Naogeorgus, said publicly that he was sure there were witches about.

Thereupon the burghers worked themselves up into such a state of excitement that the council was compelled to arrest three women who were suspected of witchery. To help in torturing these women the council called in the executioners of Stuttgart, Esslingen, and Wüstensteig, because these men were renowned in the art of bringing "the devil's crew" to submission. A doctor was also summoned from Tübingen, who had the reputation of accelerating witches' confessions by a certain potion. Nevertheless, neither potion nor torture had any result. The victims persisted in the declaration of their innocence, and after four months' imprisonment were set free, to the great indignation of Naogeorgus, who, from the pulpit, stirred up the burghers against the council, and of the executioner from Wüstensteig, who complained that he had been hindered in his trade by a few gentlemen of the council, for there were more witches still in Esslingen.

Afterwards nine others were arrested and tortured. Against one of them, among other things, the heavy charge was brought that "after her first trial a light had been seen waving up and down in the hospital till late into the night, that a cat had raised a tremendous scream-

ing, and that in a neighbouring stall two cows had torn the halter in two."

Then Count Ulrich von Helfenstein joined with the preacher and executioner "in protesting against the too great lenity of the council in letting off the first three accused witches. He himself, with his brother Sebastian, had, in 1563, tortured and burnt sixty-three witches within his small territory, 'in conformity,' as he said, 'with the existing law and with evangelical piety.'"

But the Esslingen council seem to have been content with torturing and imprisoning innocent women, stopping short at burning them alive.

The witch trials lasted for 130 years, and the burning of innocent women as witches was still a common thing in Germany less than 300 years ago. Anti-feminism, the notion of the male superiority, and male predominance, were responsible for these atrocities, and the spirit that prompted and carried on witch trials and witch burnings still exists in our civilisation.

THE END.

## DECEMBER REVIEWS

### "The Englishwoman"

In "The Present Position of Woman Suffrage" Mr. Philip Snowden discusses the reasons why, in his opinion, the suffrage has not yet been obtained by women. He condemns militancy, considering (with Mr. Lloyd George) that it has created some hostility to the cause. It is true (he admits) that lukewarm members sometimes make it an excuse for their inactivity or opposition. In his opinion the only Government likely to bring forward a Government measure in this generation would be a Liberal one. Therefore, "the aim of suffragist policy should be to get a majority into the next Parliament who are definitely pledged to insist that the Government shall take up and settle this question at once." The question of where the worker is to live is discussed in "The Daily Migrant" as a problem of the day. Cheap railways fares are balanced by the workers' long journeys between country and town, their fatigue and loss of time. "Suggestions for a Moral Welfare League" offer another sphere to voluntary workers. A woman official on duty in parks, especially in parks frequented by children, is one of the suggestions. "The Modern Spirit among Chinese Women" is interesting, and much information is to be found in "Three Years of Bee Keeping" by any woman who desires to take up this interesting and apparently profitable industry.

### "The Westminster Review"

The serious position of affairs in Ireland is pointed out in "The Case for Revolution," by W. R. MacDermott, M.B., J.P., who claims to have resided in Ulster in official capacity for forty years. In the writer's opinion, a strong hand is needed at the present juncture, and "the British Government, instead of being strong, is utterly feeble from the form it has assumed, and it is conscious of its own feebleness." The British House of Commons, he thinks, seems quite blind to the danger threatening it. "What has been: A Study in Taxation," a continuation of former articles by W. Turner, investigates the advantages of Free Trade. There are numerous short articles on various subjects: our mining population (in "The British Underworld"), literature in Russia, a criticism of Mr. Tagore's philosophy, an astronomical theory of the earth's origin, and finally, an article on the well-worn Bacon-Shakespeare controversy.

## A PRACTICAL COOKERY BOOK

This is a collection of carefully thought-out recipes, the result of Mrs. Edwards' thirty years' enthusiastic practice of her Art. They read like the utterances of a born and bred cook, whose works have been appreciated at their true value. So convincing are those passages where the personal note appears, as in "My strawberry jam," "My Soufflé Pudding," that the merest amateur feels impelled to put them to the test forthwith; and some of the fleshpots described are calculated to create a hankering in the most hardened of vegetarians—a person of whose existence Mrs. Edwards seems quite unconscious. A thoroughly practical useful book.

M. S. O.

"Mrs. Edwards' Cookery Book." (21. Women's League, Ltd. Price 6s. net.)

# "VOTES FOR WOMEN" FELLOWSHIP

Motto: "Come on! Hold on! Fight on!"  
Colours: Purple, White, and Red.

## SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS

Fellows and other readers are invited to keep Thursday, February 28, free, as it is proposed to hold a VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship public meeting on that day. Particulars will be given in the New Year.

Miniature medallions, in the Fellowship colours, suitable for attaching to notepaper, &c., can be obtained from the Business Secretary, VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C., 1d. per dozen, or in boxes 1s. per gross, post free.

A new badge in the Fellowship colours can also be obtained from the Business Secretary, price 6d. (post free 7d.). It is a brooch beautifully enamelled in the colours, and is a great improvement in many ways on the cheaper article, which, however, is still to be had. The motto "Votes for Women" has been added to the word "Fellowship." The workmanship is excellent, and the brooch has a secure catch and strong pin.

A Christmas greeting card, with the motto of the Fellowship in the colours, and with a book of labels, "We support those firms who advertise in our paper," can be obtained from the Business Secretary, price 1½d. each (postage extra on quantities less than a dozen).

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's "Open Letter to the Bishop of London," which appeared in VOTES FOR WOMEN, November 21, is now published in leaflet form, and can be obtained post free 1s. per 100, or 7s. 6d. per thousand. Will those who wish to buy this leaflet send their orders to the Business Secretary, VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.†

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\* For this and other statements in this article, see *Journal of the History of the German People at the Close of the Middle Ages*, English Translation. (Kegan Paul 1907.) Vol. XVI.

# LIBERAL MEMBER THREATENS RESIGNATION ON SUFFRAGE QUESTION

**Liberal Women Excluded from Mr. Asquith's Meeting.—Mr. Barton, M.P., Severs Connection with Oldham Liberal Association on the Women's Question.—Will there be a By-election?**

A situation which may end in a by-election has been created in Oldham by the exclusion from the platform at Mr. Asquith's meeting, last Saturday, of fifteen prominent women Liberals of that town. The request for their admission had been made by Mr. Barton, senior M.P. for Oldham, who presided at the meeting, and in consequence of what has occurred, Mr. Barton has severed his connection with the Oldham Liberal Association and cancelled all his engagements in the town.

Further, it appears from an interview published in the *Manchester Guardian* that Mr. Barton will not "go back to Parliament under existing conditions, but will apply for the Chiltern Hundreds at the earliest opportunity."

## "Whose help you and I have had"

One very significant sentence occurred in the letter written by Mr. Barton to the president of the Association to announce his resignation from that body. "I think," he says, "although it is a relatively small matter, that your Association might have had the courtesy to inform me of their decision to refuse my request for the admittance of fifteen Liberal women, whose help you and I have had."

In another letter to the Press, Mr. Barton says:—

"The plea of my women workers was so just as to be, in my view, unanswerable, especially as they had watered it down to an earnest request that fifteen known representative women, being officials of the different women's associations, should be permitted to hear the head of the Liberal Party."

## WHAT WILL THE EXECUTIVE DO?

There was to be a meeting of the Executive of the Oldham Liberal Association on Wednesday evening, after we went to press, and it was hoped that Mr. Barton would attend and hear the Committee's explanations. The *Manchester Guardian* correspondent suggests that only by a vote of confidence in Mr. Barton—"which would be in the circumstances an official vote in favour of women's suffrage"—will Mr. Barton be deterred from resigning his seat.

## MR. BARTON'S POSITION

### WOMAN SUFFRAGE THE UNDERLYING REASON

When the news of Mr. Barton's rupture with the Oldham Liberal Association first became known, it was thought that it arose from the admission of certain women to the platform at Mr. Asquith's meeting, while others, notably the fifteen on whose behalf Mr. Barton had applied for tickets, were excluded. Mr. Barton made it quite clear, in an interview with the representative of the *Manchester Guardian* last Tuesday, that this was not the sole cause of the determined step taken by him.

### "The Larger Matter of the Position of Women"

"The real question at issue," says the correspondent who interviewed the member for Oldham, "goes much deeper. Oldham Liberals, in considering Mr. Barton's letter to their chairman, will be brought face to face not with the relatively small matter of the arrangements for a particular meeting, important though that meeting was to the constituency, but with the larger matter of the position of women in politics. A vote of confidence in Mr. Barton will be an official vote in favour of the enfranchisement of women, and I imagine nothing short of that will deter Mr. Barton from resigning his seat at the earliest possible moment, which will be as soon as Parliament meets."

After saying that he had not the slightest personal animosity against Mr. Barton, the correspondent added that he was

personal, with the members of the Oldham Liberal executive, Mr. Barton, in the course of the interview, went on to say:—

"I look at it this way. I am a member of Parliament, and I don't understand the position of a Liberal member of Parliament who has got at loggerheads with his Executive. One or other has to give way. . . . I could not tolerate such a state of affairs. They may, it is true, say that the Executive is behind me on all other matters, but that is insufficient. They are not behind me in a matter which I made a special test and upon which I made a special appeal."

## "I cannot Accept that"

Then, asked the correspondent, the difference arose over woman suffrage?

"Yes," Mr. Barton replied. "I believe that at bottom it is a question of women's suffrage, and I will tell you why. The visit from the Prime Minister was, of course, an important event for Oldham, and the Executive had asked me to use all my influence in bringing it about. Under the circumstances I wrote them saying that while I had every confidence in them I should like them to submit to me the arrangements for the meeting, and they did so, only they did not submit the regulation excluding women. Now, I am in favour of women's suffrage, and I was to be chairman of a meeting from which women generally were to be excluded, and even fifteen Liberal women workers for whom I made a special plea were refused admission. I cannot accept that."

Mr. Barton went on to point out that the Executive told him that a party of women brought by him to the meeting would have been admitted, as the Prime Minister's and Lady Emmott's parties were admitted.

## The Case much Worse

"I replied that that made the case worse, because it came to this—that I could introduce relatives who had done nothing for Liberalism in Oldham and they would be welcomed, but I could not obtain admission for women who had worked devotedly for the Liberal cause in the town. They could not be admitted even at my urgent personal request. Now, as I was unable to attend the meeting of the Executive which decided the matter—I desired to attend the dinner to Mr. Asquith in Manchester—I had a conversation with the chairman of the Executive, in the course of which I expressed absolute confidence that my request would be acceded to by the whole Executive, but I added that I was bound to say that if it were refused the refusal would end my connection with them. I explained that this was not meant in any sense to be threatening. It was simply an intimation that would prevent misunderstanding of the serious view I took of the matter."

## Prepared to take Risks

With regard to the bearing of his action upon the question of Woman Suffrage, Mr. Barton said:—

"Unless a man who believes in the enfranchisement of women is willing to risk a good deal for it, how is the cause to be pressed forward? It is the most difficult thing in the world to interest men in a subject which does not directly concern them. I may speak on the land or about the possibility of reducing the existing taxation on food, and they are all ears; but a man has to be very earnest and very determined if he is to get a hearing for women's suffrage. Yet if, as I said, the people who believe that the enfranchisement of women is in the line of progress are not prepared to sacrifice something for their belief, the movement will not make headway."

## "I shall not go back to Parliament"

Asked what his rupture with the Association would involve, Mr. Barton replied: "I shall not go back to Parliament as the member for Oldham. It is my intention to apply for the Chiltern Hundreds, and that will necessitate a by-election as soon, I suppose, as Parliament meets."

The same interviewer asked Mr. Barton if the majority of the Oldham Liberal Executive was opposed to Woman Suffrage.

He said he could not tell, but "if there is a majority against women's suffrage, some of them must be humbugs, because most of them have signed petitions in favour of it."

## MR. BARTON'S EXPLANATION

In a letter to the *Manchester Guardian*, Mr. Barton says that his object in writing it is as a medium of reply to many letters and telegrams.

"Mainly," he writes, "they ask whether or not the women's case was the one and only cause of the abrupt termination of my political connection with Oldham. It was, absolutely."

## Degrees of Progressive Thought

"When the Oldham people accepted me as their candidate they knew my views on social questions; they knew that I was an advocate of the taxation of land values, . . . and they know now that I am a whole-hearted supporter of the present and prospective social and economic legislation of the Government, their prospective land policy especially. In the Oldham Association, as elsewhere, there are degrees of progressive thought, and amongst the men of more moderate views are some of my best personal friends."

## "I should have lost my own self-respect"

"That there should be a great Liberal meeting addressed by the honoured head of the Liberal party and that neither on grounds of justice nor personal favour could I get admittance for fifteen of my representative women supporters seemed to me, and still seems to me, a position in which, had I acquiesced, I might have retained a seat in Parliament, but I should have lost my own self-respect. I observe from the newspapers that a member of the Oldham Executive announces that given the same circumstances the same course would be taken."

I know the gentleman to be honest, and I am obliged for his candour; it makes a clear course clearer still.

## The Greatest Thing in Politics

"True, now that Home Rule is a settled issue, I regard women's suffrage as the greatest thing in politics, and as being in the direct line of Liberal evolution and the economic deliverance of the wage-earner—of this there can be no better proof than the fact that the opposition to this cause is forcing the Liberal party into courses opposed to the whole spirit of Liberalism. But I was not unduly pressing my views in the modest request that I made, and which was rejected by the Oldham Association, knowing the position into which I should consider myself forced."

"The magnificent meeting addressed by Mr. Churchill four years ago, at which he made the greatest of that wonderful series of speeches on Free Trade, has been cited as a precedent against me. While the conditions were the same and I was the chairman, it was no true precedent. I was then an inexperienced candidate, and the women of the constituency put no pressure on me—they just worked like Trojans for the Liberalism dear to them and to me."

## Mrs. Alderman Lees was Wiser!

"I observe that the name of my honoured friend Mrs. Alderman Lees has been dragged in. Let me say that, although I was staying at her house, the only observation she volunteered about our meeting was a wish that it might be successful and undisturbed. She was not one of the fifteen women, because, in fact, she had already severed her connection with the Liberal Association on suffrage grounds—the only question about which she and I have ever had any differences. I naturally felt aggrieved that a truly great Liberal should separate herself on even this great question, but circumstances have proved her wiser than me."

## A STRONG PRESS COMMENT

Mr. Barton is one of the soundest and ablest Liberals who sit for Lancashire, and his withdrawal would be a serious loss not only to Oldham, of which he is a true son, but also to the House of Commons. Serious as this prospect is, we think Mr. Barton is

justified in facing it rather than acquiesce in what he feels to be an injury to the Liberal cause. The dispute that has arisen is not one of personalities. . . . The question at issue is one of personal honour and of the respect due to rank-and-file workers in the Liberal cause as compared with great ladies who adorn it. Certain ladies were properly admitted to Mr. Asquith's Oldham meeting as the friends of the Premier and of his supporters. . . . But the cast-iron rule excluding women, properly relaxed in favour of a few, was not relaxed in favour of women whose claim to admission was that they were introduced by the senior member for the division, and had done hard work for the Liberal cause. Mr. Barton made it clear that he should regard it as a test of the value that Liberals in his division were prepared to put on the services of women in politics, and it was the refusal to give to a few women, as representative Liberal workers, the rights given to women who were friends and relatives of important people at the meeting that led Mr. Barton to break with his Executive. He felt it as a slight not merely to himself and to them, but to Liberalism. After Home Rule, women's suffrage is to Mr. Barton "the greatest thing in politics, and in the direct line of Liberal evolution." It may be that the incident of last Saturday is not the first disagreement between Mr. Barton and some members of his Executive on the suffrage. Yet Mr. Barton never forced the issue. Only when the challenge was forced upon him did he take it up. It is refreshing to find a man who will stake his seat on a principle because he holds it to be of the essence of his political belief. If the Liberals of Oldham are wise they will be infinitely less willing to part with Mr. Barton after his protest than they would have been before. In any case, Mr. Barton may be very sure that there are plenty of Liberals, and will be more and more the country through, who will know how to prize so much courage and so much integrity.

## FROM THE UNIONIST PRESS

The comedy of the Liberal member who was unable to obtain tickets for ladies to hear the Prime Minister at the meeting over which he himself presided may possibly turn out a political tragedy.—*Fall Mall Gazette*.

The woman suffrage question has again involved the Radical party in difficulties—difficulties which, in this case, may lead to an awkward by-election at Oldham. The trouble over the Oldham meeting is symptomatic of only one side of the Suffrage trouble, however. The Government are, indeed, between Scylla and Charybdis, for while Mr. Barton is complaining about the treatment of the votes for women section, Radical M.P.s who are opposed to the extension of the franchise to women have forwarded a protest to the Prime Minister against the methods which they believe are adopted in the selection of new Radical candidates.—*Globe*.

## MR. CHURCHILL'S "RIGHTEOUS PASSION"

An ex-Liberal agent, in a letter to the *Manchester Guardian*, describes another phase of the difficult situation created by the militant Suffragists as hecklers at Cabinet Minister's meetings.

"I remember very distinctly," he says, "the conduct of Mr. Churchill when he was Home Secretary. There was much anxiety on the part of those responsible for the meeting and the police, as it was about the time he was being assaulted. All women were consequently excluded."

## The Usual Limelight

"I met the Home Secretary at the station, where he arrived by special train and the usual full blaze of limelight. A telegram was handed to him by the station-master. It was from Mrs. Churchill, complaining that she and her hostess and some other ladies of the house party had been told by the agent (that is, by me) that no women were being admitted to the meeting, and she would consequently not be there. Mr. Churchill immediately flew into a righteous passion, and informed me with much emphasis that unless those ladies were admitted he would not speak. The ladies were telegraphed for, naturally."

# WOMEN'S CLAIM TO BE SOLICITORS

Bebb v. The Law Society—Appeal Dismissed with Costs

## IN THE COURT OF APPEAL

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

Women's claim to be admitted as solicitors came up for discussion before the Court of Appeal on Tuesday, when the suit brought by Miss Bebb against the Law Society claiming a declaration that she was a "person" within the meaning of the Solicitors' Acts and was entitled to be admitted to the preliminary examination held by the defendants under those Acts, was ably argued.

### On the Sole Ground that they were Women

The case arose out of the refusal of the Law Society in December last to admit four women—Miss Bebb, Miss Costelloe, Miss Ingram and Miss Nettlefold—to the examination, on the sole ground, as the defendants stated in the correspondence, that they were women and that in consequence the Law Society did not feel entitled to admit them. The four women thereupon sued out writs against the Law Society, three of which were held over, while the fourth was taken as a test action for the purpose of obtaining an authoritative declaration of the law on the subject. In the Chancery Division, where the case was pleaded by the present Solicitor-General (Mr. Buckmaster), Mr. Justice Joyce decided against the application, but the plaintiffs were not satisfied with the decision, and, deeming the question too important to let it stand there, brought the present appeal.

### LORD ROBERT CECIL

In opening the case, Lord Robert Cecil, who supported the appeal, submitted three main propositions: First, that unmarried women have *prima facie* the same legal rights as men (subject, of course, to certain exceptions); second, that at Common Law there is nothing to prevent a woman being a solicitor, and third, that the fair construction of the statutes favours their right to be admitted.

### The Public and Private Rights of Women

With regard to private rights it is acknowledged that women are on the same level as men, although postponed to them in respect of inheritance; but with regard to public functions it is often said that they have none. This, Lord Robert Cecil maintained, was not justified by the authorities, and in support of his contention he cited the fact that women could act as Queens and Regents, that in one case even (that of Queen Eleanor, wife of Henry III.) a woman had held the office of Keeper of the Great Seal; he showed that they could fill the offices of Lord High Constable, Great Chamberlain and Marshal, and he argued that though the duties attached to these offices were fulfilled by deputies, yet the very appointment of a deputy was the exercise of a public function. Furthermore, women could be sextons, overseers of the poor and churchwardens. He claimed that these things showed that there was no rule against women exercising public functions, and that they were not excluded from any office provided they were suitable.

### What are Public Functions?

If the view is to be maintained that women are excluded from all public functions, the difficulty then arises, "What are public functions?" Either these can be defined to be the exercise of some part of the sovereignty of the state or they are very hard to define at all. In the former case a solicitor is not a public officer, and unless there is some special rule of law dealing with the point, women (so Lord Robert contended) are entitled to be admitted. He denied that there was any such rule. There were cases, before the profession of attorneys was fully developed, of women acting in that capacity, and none of the subsequent statutes have dealt with the point; they have been merely regulative statutes making provision for the examination in respect of their legal ability and virtue of would-be attorneys and solicitors.

### All Qualified Persons to be Admitted

Dealing with the Solicitors Act, 1843, which with certain amending statutes is now the governing Act, Lord Robert Cecil submitted that not only did it establish certain regulations to prevent unqualified persons being admitted as solicitors, but it further enacted that all persons complying with these regulations

should be admitted. There is nothing whatever in the Act to exclude women; on the contrary, the interpretation clause expressly states that "every word importing the masculine gender only shall extend to and be taken to include the female . . . unless there be something in the context or subject repugnant thereto." He would not go so far as to argue that such an interpretation clause could give women a right which they had not previously had, but he maintained that *prima facie* women had this right, and that unless there were some very clear rule of law prohibiting them from



MISS BEBB

(Sketch from Life)

(Block kindly lent by "Daily News.")

acting as such, the Courts had no right to read it into the Acts. The Act did not overrule any Common Law disability against women, but in the absence of any such disability it admitted them.

### MR. R. A. WRIGHT

Mr. R. A. Wright further argued in support of the appeal that "repugnancy in the subject" meant something which renders incapable of fulfilling the provisions of the Act, e.g., a corporation which could not be examined.

### A Solicitor not a Public Officer

He maintained that a solicitor is not a public officer, for he is not paid out of public funds, and is only an officer of the Court in that he is subject to the disciplinary authority of the judges.

L. F. N.

## THE CASE FOR THE LAW SOCIETY

### SIR ROBERT FINLAY

Sir Robert Finlay, who opened the case for the Law Society, based his argument on the ground that the long practice of centuries, ever since professional attorneys were first heard of, was against the admission of women. The refusal of the judges in 1908 to support Miss Cave's application to be admitted as a student of Gray's Inn, and the decision in *Hall v. The Incorporated Society of Law Agents* (where a woman applied to be admitted as a law agent in Scotland) were grounded upon this immemorial usage.

### THE JUDGMENT

#### THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS

The Master of the Rolls said this case raised a very important point as to the right of women to be solicitors. Plaintiff sought a mandamus requiring the Law Society to admit her to the preliminary examinations. The Law Society, of course, was a modern creation, and the plaintiff's claim depended on the Solicitors Act of 1843. The argument on her behalf was shortly this: Read the Act from beginning to end and you will find that certain statutory obligations are imposed on the Law Society requiring them to admit any person who comes forward and complies with certain conditions, and if you look at the end of the Act you

will see that every word importing the masculine gender shall extend and be applied to females as well as males unless there be something in the subject or context repugnant to such construction.

It is not really contended that there was anything in the Act of 1843 which destroyed or removed an existing disability, and all the Court had to consider was whether at the date of the passing of the Act a woman was under a disability to become an attorney or solicitor.

### Lord Coke's Ruling

Lord Coke, in language which did not seem to be as doubtful as had been suggested, said 300 years ago that a woman would not be allowed to be an attorney. It had been said that much attention should not be paid to that because Lord Coke referred to the Mirror of Justice as evidence of what he said. The Mirror might not be, and he thought was not, a work of the highest possible authority. But the reference to the Mirror on what "antiquity said" did not in the least take away from the opinion of Lord Coke, and the opinion of Lord Coke on what was and was not the common law required no other sanction. Therefore he thought that this alone was evidence that in common law there was a disability on the part of women to be attorneys at law.

### Never Had—So Never Could!

But apart from what Lord Coke said, there was this consideration. No woman had ever been an attorney at law, and no woman had ever applied to be one. There had been that long uniform and uninterrupted usage which was the foundation of the greater part of the common law of this country, and which the Court beyond all doubt ought to be very loth to depart from.

There had been a most interesting discussion as to what women could and could not and to what extent the profession of solicitor was or was not a public office. But he could not think that decided the matter. He decided this case simply on the ground that at the date of the passing of the Act of 1843 there was a disability on the part of women to be attorneys, and that that Act conferred no fresh right upon them because it did not destroy pre-existing disability.

The Court had been asked to say that in point of intelligence, education and competency women, and in particular the present appellant (who was a distinguished Oxford student), was at least equal to a great many and a thought better than many candidates who would come forward for examination. He assented to this, but it was not a matter for the Court to decide upon. Their duty was to consider, and so far as they could ascertain what the law was. He absolutely disclaimed any right to legislate in

the matter. That was for Parliament and not for the Court.

### LORD JUSTICE SWINFEN EADY

Lord Justice Swinfen Eady said he was of the same opinion. The argument of Lord Robert Cecil had left him entirely unconvinced that the solicitor's profession was now open to women. As early as 1403 and before, the profession of attorneys had existed. The first statute referring to the examination of attorneys and the putting out of undesirable persons, was in the time of Henry IV. Since then until now, although the position of attorney had developed, no instance of any woman attorney was on record. Then there was the opinion of Lord Coke, with the quotation from Mirror of Justice. He saw no reason why the disability therein referred to should be restricted to married women. He thought it was general, and meant that women could not be attorneys. Lord Coke quoted that without dissent as laying down what the law from antiquity had been. If there was to be any change from the ancient methods it was a change that must be effected by Parliament.

### LORD JUSTICE PHILLIMORE

Lord Justice Phillimore said he was of the same opinion. They did not sit on the bench to say what the law should be, and he disclaimed any intention of expressing an opinion one way or the other.

### When It Was Not a Profession

In early days when there was no profession of attorney, and when, except by royal favour, everybody had to follow his suit in person, then no doubt on occasions, and particularly when the husband was following the King in war, women were sometimes appointed attorneys, just as women might have a power of attorney for conveyancing at the present, but from the time attorneys had become a profession, which could be dated back to a statute of Henry IV., there was no instance of a woman acting as attorney, or of it being possible that she should be an attorney or solicitor.

All the evidence was that this profession had not hitherto been open to women, and the same arguments which could be applied to destroying this ancient usage might equally well apply to the claims for the franchise.

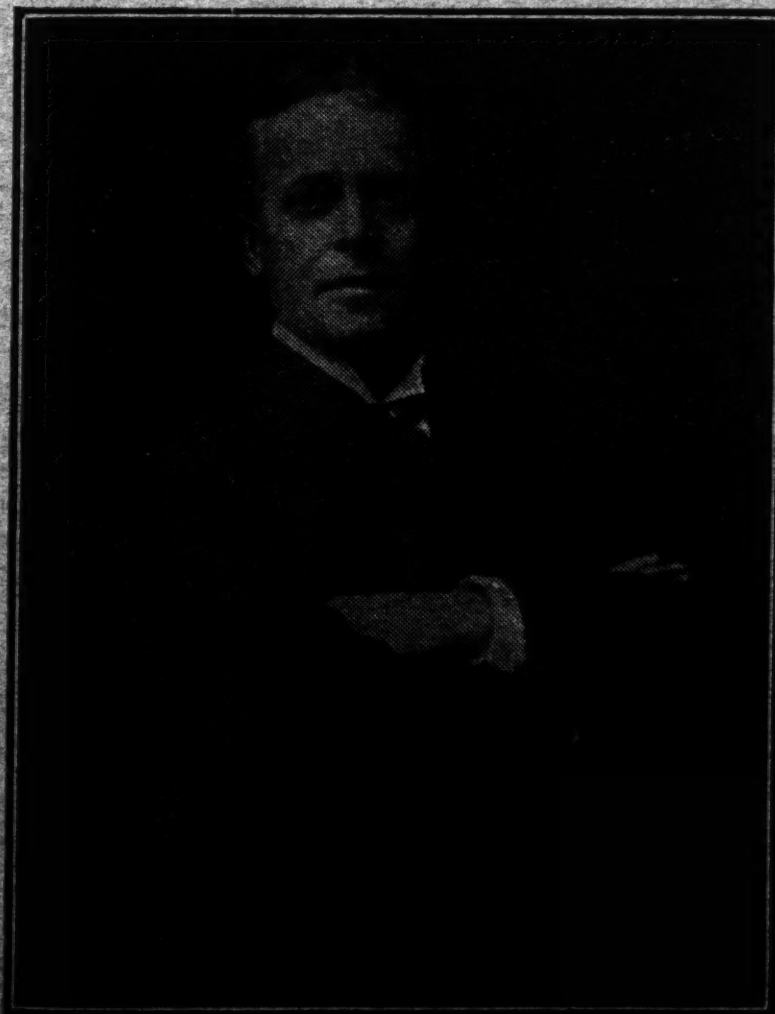
### Difficulty About Married Women

Difficult points would arise if a woman were to be admitted a solicitor. There was the difficulty about married women not having absolute liberty to enter into binding contracts, and if a woman could be married during her articles it would be a serious inconvenience that she should in the middle of litigation be suddenly disqualified by marriage. He only mentioned this incidentally, however.

Considering the statutes with the common law, he thought the appeal should be dismissed.

### THE APPEAL DISMISSED

The appeal was accordingly dismissed with costs.



[Photograph by M. Chéri-Rousseau, Paris.]

M. BRIUX

The famous French playwright whose play "La Femme de Sam" has been produced for the first time in England at the "Women's Theatre" last week.



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### CHRISTMAS BOOKS

Christmas would not seem quite right to children if E. Nesbit were to fail to supply them with her annual medley of magic and realism; and this year, if to some of us "Wet Magic" is not quite her best work, we are sure that the nursery will place it readily among its predecessors, and not be hypercritical over its defects. The children in it are, as usual, delightful. Before we are through two chapters we know Francis and Mavis and Bernard and Kathleen as four distinct personalities; and before very long we are glad to add to them the boy who has run away from the circus in order to seek the parents from whom he was kidnapped as a baby, and who, when asked where he is going, answers—"I dunno; I'm running from, not to." That is as like E. Nesbit. The rest of the story is full of the adventures that fall naturally to the lot of five children at the seaside, who, having rescued a mermaid from a travelling circus, proceed to visit her in the depths of the ocean. And if it is rather flagrantly commonplace for the runaway boy to find rich parents in the last chapter, it is the kind of flagrancy that E. Nesbit always knows how to carry off with a high hand. So into the children's stockings should this book go at Christmas time!

Then there are the older boys and girls who do not hang up their stockings, or, if they do, hang them up on the distinct understanding that the standard of their presents shall not be of the stocking age. For them—and indeed for their grown-up relatives too, for it would make an excellent present of the auntlike order—there is Ethel Colburn Mayne's study of "Browning's Heroines," with a most attractive frontispiece by Maxwell Armfield. The introduction is particularly interesting. In it the author maintains that Browning may be called the first "feminist" poet since Shakespeare, and shows how "the Browning girl" is always an individual, unacquainted with "shrinking and timidity." On second thoughts, perhaps, we should confine this Christmas present rather to the grown-up class, for it is full of original theories; and the boy or girl is better without other people's theories when making first acquaintance with a poet.

Also for people in their teens or older, is an admirable collection of "Tales from Ariosto," rendered into English prose by Professor J. Shield Nicholson. The way they are told is first-rate, and the selection of stories remarkably good. Not the least interesting part of the book are the illustrations, all of which are reproductions of old plates. Altogether, this is a book that has many of the qualifications that go to make an old friend of a volume that started merely as a Christmas present.

It is difficult to say how far one actress can help another in the reading of a part; but if another's experience of well-known characters can give a lead, as it were, to the amateur, then "The True Ophelia, and Other Studies of Shakespeare's Women," by "An Actress," may be of real use to the student. It is at all events extremely interesting to read an anonymous player's idea of the parts she has played herself, and from this point of view alone this "Actress's" very readable studies of half a dozen of Shakespeare's heroines are well worth having. By the stage-struck—are girls still "stage-struck," nowadays, by the way?—it would, of course, be doubly welcomed.

Another anonymous writer, described as "A Popular Novelist," has retold "The Merchant of Venice" as a novel. We cannot say that the result seems to us particularly happy; nor can we quite see the point of substituting a rather badly written story for an immortal play, for the sake of readers to whom the play is not a sealed book. The coloured illustrations, by Averil Burleigh, are of the kind that fitly accompany the work of "A Popular Novelist." As, however, Christmas presents should be given on the principle of doing unto others as we would they should do unto us, perhaps there are some people who would not mind the intrusion even of a popular novelist between them and Shakespeare.

E. S.

### BOOKS RECEIVED

"The Legal and Political Status of Women in the United States." By Jennie L. Wilson, LL.B. (To be obtained from Author at 1,007, Fourth Avenue, East Cedar Rapids, Iowa, U.S.A. Price \$2.50.)

"Eight O'Clock, and Other Studies." By St. John G. Ervine. (Dublin: Maunsell. Price 2s. 6d. net.)

"Westminster Review." December. (London: Marlborough. Price 2s. 6d. net.)

"Conflicting Ideals: Two Sides of the Woman's Question." By B. L. Hutchins. (London: Murley. Price 1s. 6d. net.)

"The White Slave Traffic: An Explanation for Boys." By Ennis Richmond. (London: Women's Printing Society, Ltd., Brick Street, Piccadilly. Price 6d.)

"The Englishwoman." December. (London: Sidgwick and Jackson. Price 1s. net.)

"Debate on Woman Suffrage Between Lord Lytton and Miss Gladys Pott." (London: Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association. Price 3d.)

"Wet Magic." By E. Nesbit. (London: T. Werner Laurie, Ltd. Price 6s.)

"Browning's Heroines." By Ethel Colburn Mayne. (London: Chatto and Windus. Price 7s. net.)

"Tales from Ariosto." By J. Shield Nicholson, Esq., LL.D. (London: Macmillan and Co. Price 5s.)

"The True Ophelia." By An Actress. (London: Sidgwick and Jackson. Price 2s. 6d. net.)

"A Novel Founded on Shakespeare's 'Merchant of Venice'." By a Popular Novelist. (London: Greening and Co. Price 6s.)

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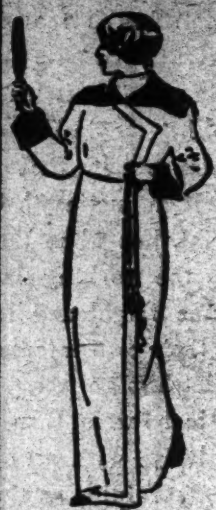
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## THE WOMAN'S THEATRE

### "Woman on Her Own"

The object and methods of the Actresses' Franchise League in starting a Woman's Theatre have been explained in this paper already. One need only repeat that the whole business side of the enterprise, from hiring the Coronet Theatre to taking the money at the doors, has been entirely carried out by women. In the same way, it is women who produce the plays—Miss Janette Steer producing Brieux's "Woman on Her Own," and Miss Winifred Mayo producing "A Gauntlet," by Björnson. The guarantors are women. A third of the profits goes to the Actresses' Franchise League; the remainder is shared in proportion among other suffrage societies. It is only on the stage that men play any part. For this first attempt, all the actresses and, I suppose, the actors, have given their services for nominal fees. One need hardly say that everyone concerned in the venture is a suffragist, and on the first night the gathering of suffragists was magnificent.

### THE PLAY

The actresses were quite right to begin with Mrs. Bernard Shaw's translation of "La Femme Seule." It is new, it has good dramatic points, and its interest lies entirely in the modern woman's position. What is a highly educated, young, and beautiful woman of the "upper classes" to do for her living if she is forced to break loose from her ordinary surroundings? It is the same problem as Mr. Galsworthy lately treated in "The Fugitive." In that case, the woman refused to live upon her husband's money when she could give him nothing in exchange. Casting herself upon the workaday world, she fell to tragic ruin, chiefly owing to her own fastidious weakness, her ignorance and incapacity. In "Woman on Her Own," Thérèse refuses to live upon her relations' money, because she loves independence and longs, if not for a career, at all events for the exercise of her powers. She is neither weak nor ignorant nor incapable. She does well on the staff of a "Feminist" paper; she wins great success by her inventions and organisation in a book-binding factory. Yet her end is almost as tragic as the Fugitive's. Defeated at point after point, at last she rushes off to Paris, either to go on the streets or to join her former lover as his mistress—a position she had steadfastly refused ever since the loss of her fortune had excluded her from the hope of ordinary marriage with him.

### The French Element

On that point the problem is peculiarly French. Without bragging of Englishmen, one may say that general feeling here would condemn a man who refused to marry the girl he loved simply because she had lost her money. Nor do English people set so much store on the consent of a man's parents as to think it more honourable for a girl to become her lover's mistress than to marry him without their consent. Those, however, are differences of national custom that do not seriously affect the central problem. They only help to create it, and any other means would have done as well. But from time to time one feels a difference of far deeper kind—a difference that in fact pervades the whole play. Not only the men in the play, but the women, when they are talking privately among themselves, evidently regard a woman's work, her career and her success as a poorish second-best to "love" and domestic occupations. They constantly revert in idea, and often in word, to the old tags of Victorian sentiment that "Love is Best," "Love is Enough," "Love is Woman's whole Existence," and all the weary rest of it.

It is quite true that this was in reality the weak point of "The Fugitive" also. Neither M. Brieux nor Mr. Galsworthy can quite get away from the old masculine conception of "woman's sphere" and "woman's only true happiness." But it seems to be yielding less easily in France than in England, and I suppose that is why one instinctively distrusts the French words "Feminist" and "Feminism," but takes "Suffragette" and "Votes for Women" as honest and straightforward terms. The best laugh in the play comes when one of the paper's staff says to a "manlike," cigarette-smoking colleague, "I've some good news for you," and she replies, "Are all the men—dead?" Yet the same manlike woman main-

tains that freedom and careers are only for the ugly or the old.

Many subordinate points of the problem come in, and the contest between the men and women workers in the book-binding factory illustrates one of the most dangerous obstacles in woman's way. Like so many recent dramas, the whole thing is rather a statement of the difficulty than a solution, and though M. Brieux has attempted to state it honestly, there is over all a sense of hindrance and defeat.

The acting and management are admirable throughout. Miss Lena Ashwell as Thérèse, and Mr. Norman V. Norman as M. Nérissa, editor of the woman's newspaper, have the best acting parts, and both make the finest use of their opportunities.

H. W. N.

### PAPER-SELLING REPORT

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(A full account of the Poster Parade will be found on Page 168.)

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# VOTES FOR WOMEN

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FRIDAY, DECEMBER 12, 1913.

## BRINGING THE LAW INTO CONTEMPT

Votes for women is the live wire in public life. Politicians and public men are in horror of touching it. They never can forget it is there; all the more do they remember it, because they have to keep up the pretence that it is invisible.

Lord Justice Buckley, as the selected representative of *The Bench and Legal Profession*, when replying to the toast in his honour at the Solicitors' Benevolent Association Dinner a few days ago, seems to have been haunted by this consciousness of the woman's movement. For, in the first place, he ostentatiously forgets the existence of women altogether, only to be dominated at the end of his remarks by the uneasy feeling that they are a standing menace to the dignity of his profession.

Society was so organised, he said, that if possible all law and order rested on common consent, and not on force. Law and order might be described as the expression of the thoughtful and determined wish of the majority. Anybody who thought that the law was not right was entitled to say so and entitled to endeavour to change it, but the first duty of every good citizen was to support the law and not to allow it to be set aside. It struck him as a melancholy fact, which was leading he knew not where, that there was abroad a spirit by which every minority chose to say: "The law does not suit me; I am going to do something else; and if you do not fall in with what I think to be right I shall indulge in any criminal act which may seem to me to be sufficient to terrorise you into doing what I consider right." He deprecated the way in which sentences pronounced by judges were allowed to be set aside.

Lord Justice Buckley's version of the origin and sanction of the laws is altogether false and unreal. The laws of this country do not rest on common consent. They are not the expression of the thoughtful and determined wish of the majority. They are made by men for men, and are imposed upon women by force. That is the truth in a nutshell, and not all the sophistries of judges or the sentimentalities of politicians can prevent women of the present day from realising the fact. It is for this reason that women have brought laughter upon the criminal administration by setting at defiance all judicial decrees and refusing to serve out any sentence of imprisonment.

But though women have brought the system of criminal administration to ridicule, it has been reserved for the Government of the day to bring it into absolute contempt. For this Government has openly abandoned all attempt at governing the country by the application and administration of the law. Sir Edward Carson is allowed to preach rebellion and civil war, to import fire-arms with impunity, to review his troops, who have been drilled for resistance to the King's soldiers, and to excite public feeling to such a pitch that serious riots have been occasioned in which property has been destroyed and injury done to human life. The Government simply dare not apply to this fomentor of civil disorder the law of the land, and they are not ashamed, through some of their representatives, to confess it. How strangely this laxity with regard to Sir Edward Carson contrasts with the course that has been pursued against the leaders of the women's militant agitation!

Another illustration of their inability to respect the majesty of the law is found in the way in which the Government have recently dealt with the problem

of industrial revolt presented to them in Dublin. In response to pressure from political forces in Ireland the Government made a tentative effort to apply a law which was practically obsolete in such a way as to get rid of Mr. Larkin, the leader of industrial revolt, by shutting him up in prison. They allowed the traditions of British justice to be outraged in the conduct of his trial, but when they realised that he was supported by the working-class voters in this country they became frightened for their position, and with a view to their own interests they opened the prison doors and let him go free.

Cringing first to one set of political forces, then to another, then to the electorate—always with an eye to party interest—they measure as carefully as they can the position and power of the law-breaker. For it is by these accidental circumstances and not by his offences that they will have him judged. Thus do they tamper with the law and put weights in the scales of justice to suit their own advantage and to serve their own ends.

Even when in order to deal with an extraordinary state of affairs a special coercive Act is passed, the Government dare not allow it to be impartially administered. If the Cat and Mouse Act were applied without fear or favour, it would inevitably break down. Therefore it is administered with respect to the position and influence of those prisoners who come within its sphere of operation.

When James Connolly, the leader of the Transport workers, adopts the hunger strike in Dublin, he is released unconditionally, without any reference to the Cat and Mouse Act, though it was expressly drawn up to meet all cases of protest such as this on the part of prisoners. But when an obscure man, arrested in connection with the Dublin strike, follows his example, he is kept in prison and forcibly fed. Mr. Lansbury, when he adopts the hunger strike, is released after three or four days, nominally under the Cat and Mouse Act. But, nevertheless, he is left unmolested, because to apply the Act to him would bring about political complications and affect the vote in his constituency and in other working-class Parliamentary divisions. Miss Lake, on the other hand, the advertisement manager of the militant suffrage paper that could not be legally suppressed, has been re-arrested for the third time, though she has never made a militant speech or taken part in any militant action, and though she is as innocent of political or any other crime as the advertisement manager of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, that supports the agitation of Sir Edward Carson and Mr. Bonar Law, as well as publishing their speeches. While Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, an unconvicted prisoner arrested for precisely the same offence as that committed by Mr. Lansbury, and sent to prison like him in default of finding sureties, is hunted by the police and re-arrested again and again.

Of the prisoners on licence under the Cat and Mouse Act, some are taken and some are left in a totally haphazard fashion. Their circumstances and their social position are carefully ascertained. If they have no important connections, if they are working women and comparatively unknown in the movement, they are fed by force; if they are public speakers with a public following, if they are socially well connected, they are not fed by force. If the prisoner is related to people in high places, the sentence passed upon her is arbitrarily altered (as it was in the recent case of Lady Sybil Smith) in order that she may not be brought under the operation of the Cat and Mouse Act at all. By these methods the Home Secretary, the head of the administrative system of justice in this country, is able to keep the Cat and Mouse Act alive and to use it as a legalised instrument of torture just as his whim dictates or as the political ends of his party may be served. By fear or by favour is the law administered and justice brought into dishonour.

This exercise by the Government of legal discretion in the place of equal justice is a grave menace to the honour of the country and to the stability of the body politic. It strikes deeper at the roots of authority than the defiance offered to the law by women who refuse to submit to imprisonment. It is a shameful prostitution of power that should wake a passionate protest from all lovers of their nation's good name and of public probity, and should unite them in effecting the overthrow of those who have degraded their high office.

# "VOTES FOR WOMEN" TABLE TALK

Points from the Speeches made at the "Votes for Women" Dinner on December 4, 1913

## MR. ISRAEL ZANGWILL

I think some suffragists know the story of my little boy who has been brought up to wave a flag and to shout "Votes for Women." One day, when he was about four years old and had given an especially enthusiastic demonstration of this sort, it occurred to me to ask him what votes were, and I was surprised to find he hadn't the least idea. I then went on to ask him what women were, and found that he did not know what women were; and reflecting upon this incident, I came to the conclusion that the whole obstacle to our movement arises because people neither know what votes are nor what women are. (Applause.) . . . As I have told you one story about my little boy, I will tell you his latest development, at the age of seven. I was passing down a country lane with him, when I saw a slug in the middle of the path, and I carefully removed it to one side. He said, "Why do you do that?" I said, "He will be run over here, he will be safe there." Then he said, "Why does he not go there himself?" I said, "You see, he has not got enough brains." Then he said, "Well, why doesn't he get a wife to look after him?" (Laughter.)

## MISS CICELY HAMILTON

We all of us live face to face with facts, but it is only feeling that produces the idea. You will find that you may have been facing certain facts all your lives, and yet you have not got the idea out of them. That is exactly what has happened with regard to woman suffrage. I wonder how many thousands of women went out into the world to earn their daily bread before it occurred to somebody that men did not support women always? I suppose this somebody pulled her weekly wage out of her pocket and said to herself, "My husband does not support me," and that was the beginning of the industrial movement with regard to women. . . . Here is a definition of truth that I once heard—it is a woman's definition—"The truth is that which does not care a button what you say of it!"

## MR. HENRY W. NEVINSON

I would much rather be facing some slippery foe in the stony deserts of Oxford—(laughter)—than standing here. I have to propose the Paper; well, it is difficult for an old journalist to praise any paper; it is as difficult as for an old cobbler to praise another man's pair of shoes, or for a lifelong supporter of the suffrage to praise a Suffrage Bill. And, besides that, there is the difficulty that one necessarily feels about the paper for which one has written, because all journalists know the relief with which one sees one's stuff in a paper and says, "Thank heaven, I need not read that." (Laughter.) . . . And that leads me to a particular quality that I observe in this paper. In my long and bloodthirsty career I have killed many papers. . . . I have written seven years for VOTES FOR WOMEN, and it still lives. Now, what vitality that shows! It has a tenacious grasp upon life, and why is this? In Fleet Street we have a well-known saying—Anybody can write, but it takes a born genius to edit. This paper is another proof of that saying.

## MRS. PETHICK LAWRENCE

Mr. Nevinson's reference to his exploits in killing papers reminds me of a remark made by a working girl the other day. She was telling me about her friend, who possesses great attractions in the eyes of the young men of her acquaintance. "Oh, but she do tick 'em off," was her comment. Well, the faster they are "ticked off" the more readily they come on! This may be said of the readers of VOTES FOR WOMEN. . . . A correspondent, writing to the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN, recently said: "We shall look to

your paper for the straight, practical word on politics, for the stern word for all wrongs, the tender word for all sorrows, and, above all, for that rarest chivalry which is self-forgetting enough not merely to succour all distressed and down-trodden ones, but to give them the power to help themselves and to set themselves free." May we come ever nearer to the achievement of this ideal. . . . VOTES FOR WOMEN stands for liberty, equality, and fellowship. Its immediate end and purpose is to bring to bear upon public opinion pressure of every kind, and to induce the men and women of this country to demand from the Government—and to insist upon getting it—a measure for the enfranchisement of women in 1914.

## MR. PETHICK LAWRENCE

In order that you may appreciate the feeling with which I move this toast to the Contributors to VOTES FOR WOMEN I am going to ask a riddle: "When does a man become a mother?" And the answer is: "When he is an editor of a paper." Those of you who are editors of papers will perhaps understand what I mean, and to those of you who are not I will explain that on the day on which a paper goes to press the editor is in travail, and on the day on which the paper is published the editor has joy that a new paper has been born into the world. (Laughter.)

I want just to draw your attention to a very interesting fact with regard to the votes for women movement as a whole. Though there are people who are opposed to it to-day, it is a remarkable thing that in the realms of art and science and the stage and medicine we have a large number of supporters, and in the world of literature we have almost every single person with us of any importance at the present time. Every single literary person of any importance is a strong supporter of votes for women, and I am honoured to think that nearly every one has at one time or another written for our paper.

## MISS MARY NEAL

One of the things we have to fight is the masculine idea of possession. Let me tell you what I heard myself in the Strand. It was on the occasion of one of our most picturesque and most beautiful processions, and the particular part of the procession which was passing represented the women doctors and graduates, and some of the most noted women in England. Just behind me were two drunken loafers, and one of them turned to the other and said: "A nice thing our spare rib has come to!" That is the idea the average man has of the average woman!

But even in "low life" women are beginning to wake up. In "low life" we cannot afford divorce; if we want to get rid of our men folk we have to use our wits. A child came to me the other day and said, "We've got rid of me father!" I said, "How was that?" She said, "We was moving, and me father didn't know where we was going, so mother got a gentleman to take him into the public, and play shove-a-penny, and me mother got all the furniture on the cart, and while he was playing shove-a-penny we moved." There are some men to-day who do not think we are getting very much nearer our goal, but while these men are playing shove-halfpenny we are moving. (Applause.)

## MR. JOHN SCURR

The other day I heard two workmen arguing about women's intelligence. One was an anti-suffragist, and the other one said: "Well, you may know all about law; you may be right about that; but I know that women are more intelligent than men. Whenever a man gets bald, what does he do? He starts to use a hair restorer; but a woman, she goes and buys the hair." (Applause.) . . . I am very proud to be able occasionally to contribute to VOTES FOR WOMEN, more especially because it represents every point of view in this movement. I think all the different methods are necessary. (Hear, hear.) Sometimes we forget this, like the little girl whose mother was trying to explain the Commandment—Thou shalt not kill. She said to the child: "If your father was to cut off the kitten's head, what Commandment would he be breaking?" The child thought for a moment, and said: "Those whom God

hath joined, let no man put asunder!" I think after all, that should be our motto, militant and non-militant. We are all in the one cause, and those that God hath joined together let no man put asunder. (Applause.)

## MISS EVELYN SHARP

On the few occasions before when I have had to make an after-dinner speech, it has generally been in response to the toast of "The Ladies." We have got beyond that now, beyond the generation when people used to call us ladies because they were so afraid we should find out we were women. . . . The readers, whose toast I propose, always seem to those who are working on a paper a vast mysterious crowd. We know they extend all over the world, for I suppose there is no other way so effectual of throwing a girdle round about the earth as by means of the printed word. But there are also particular readers with whom we occasionally come in contact. There is the "Anti" reader, for instance. I remember one of these, who came up to me once when I was selling papers; and she said, pointing to my prison brooch: "I should like to tear it off you." "Madam," I replied, "if you want one as badly as all that, I can tell you a much simpler way of getting it—Ten shillings or fourteen days." This made her stop and argue, and in the end she went away with a copy of the paper. I still like to think of that "Anti" as a constant reader of our paper.

## MR. H. D. HARBEN

Mr. Zangwill gave us a list of the ways by which the vote would come, and I want to add two more. In the first place, I think it is coming, if I may say so, out of the mouths of babes and sucklings, by the extraordinary new spirit which is apparent in the younger generation. He gave us some stories of his children; I should like to give two stories of mine. I have a little girl, who, when she was only six years old—this happened a short time ago—was told by her mother that she was to run upstairs and fetch her pocket-handkerchief. She thought for some excuse to avoid doing so that would appeal to her mother, and she said she was never going to use a pocket-handkerchief again till we got votes for women. Happily, she was only talking to her mother, who naturally understood her meaning; but her brother, who is old enough to know better, and who is thirteen, said to a very old-fashioned uncle of mine, a great-uncle of the boy, who asked him what he was going to be when he grew up: "When I am old enough, I am going to prison like George Lansbury."



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# GREAT PROTEST BY THE CHURCH

Bishops and Clergy Call for Abolition of Forcible Feeding.—Peacemakers and Militants.—Demand for Justice to Women as the Only Solution

"The Bishops have begun to move," sings a satiric poet in our Christmas number. The truth of this saying was apparent in the impressive mass meeting that was held at the Queen's Hall last Friday evening. One Bishop in the chair, four or five others sending messages, lesser clergy of every grade, from Deans and Canons to Vicars and Curates, supporting them either by letter and telegram, or by their presence on the platform—all this made the scene a remarkable one, and none the less so because it was called into being by a struggle between the State and its wronged womanhood, a struggle in which the State had overstepped the bounds of humanity and so forced the Church at last to cry "Hold!"

Not a seat in the hall was vacant, so far as could be seen, and the audience was a live one. Waves of passionate feeling swept over it from time to time, now of dissent when a speaker ventured to dissociate himself from support of revolutionary actions, now of whole-hearted agreement when he pointed out that there was but one solution of the present tragic situation, and that was for the Government to do justice to women. And all through the meeting, which at moments became a kind of storm centre, the courage and good temper of the Churchmen on the platform offered an example that might well be followed by Cabinet Ministers, whose only answer to dissent or interruption at a meeting is to order the interrupter to be "thrown out ruthlessly." But then, of course, the Bishops and clergy at the Queen's Hall had not so strong a reason for being unable to face their hecklers!

So the resolution was passed unanimously and by acclamation, and audience and platform, extremists and moderates, parted on good terms with one another. "Shall you follow up your speeches in your sermons on Sunday?" asked a woman from the balcony, as the meeting broke up. "Wait and see!" was the answer from the platform.

## THE RESOLUTION

That this Meeting protests against the recurrence of Forcible Feeding of Suffragist Prisoners on the ground that it is useless and degrading.

It submits (1) That Forcible Feeding has proved ineffectual for the avowed purpose of preserving the health of the prisoners so that they may complete their sentences. (2) That it is therefore not medical treatment but a wanton infliction of pain, which is torture. This Meeting, therefore, appeals to the public to withhold further consent to a method of punishment which not only causes gross inequalities of justice, but is an outrage on humanity, and is unworthy of a Christian community.

## THE MEETING

### THE BISHOP'S PRAYER

The meeting opened with a prayer, uttered by the Bishop of Kensington from the Chair as soon as the roar of applause, which greeted the appearance of the speakers upon the platform, had died down. It was as follows:—

Let us pray for God's blessing upon all in this meeting, for a right judgment in all things, that justice and truth may prevail. Let us pray for all who have suffered from being forcibly fed. Let us pray for all who are now under arrest and in prison [a spontaneous Amen from all parts of the hall rose in a deep murmur at this point]. Thou Who didst touch the hearts of Thy noble people by sending them the light of Thy Holy Spirit, grant us by the same Spirit that they may have a right judgment in all things and evermore rejoice in His Holy comfort, through the merits of Christ Jesus Our Saviour. Amen.

## MESSAGES

### The Bishop of London

Messages were then read from four Bishops and others who were unable to be present. The first, from the Bishop of London, began by expressing his inability "to isolate one feature of the lamentable state of things now existing from all the facts that have to be taken into consideration." Angry cries from the audience at

this reference to militancy changed into derisive ones as the message proceeded thus:—"No one, however, is more anxious than I am that the women's claim to have their voice heard on questions which concern them so vitally, the welfare of women and children, should be most fully and sympathetically considered. If after this meeting is over I can be of any use in producing an atmosphere of conciliation all round on the lines of the Bishop of Winchester's letter, I shall gladly do my best."

Other messages, received in some cases with tumultuous applause, were as follows:—

### The Bishop of Glasgow

I am extremely sorry that engagements make it impossible for me to support you at your meeting. Having read the medical reports sent to me, I should have been glad to have made my protest against forcible feeding. It cannot surely pass the wit of man to find some other way of dealing with this complicated question.

### The Bishop of Guildford

I am sorry that I cannot come to your meeting at the Queen's Hall on the 5th December. I am engaged at Leatherhead at one of our Preventative and Rescue Work Conferences, otherwise I would gladly have come to London to join in the protest against the revolting cruelty and disgrace of the forcible feeding.

### The Bishop of Leicester

It is surely right that, whatever our political opinions, we clergy should utter our protest against the practice of forcible feeding—a practice that savours of barbarism, and that in itself is injurious to the victims. One cannot help feeling that when the history of these times comes to be written, it will be set down as a shame and disgrace if public opinion does not refuse to tolerate a practice so repulsive to instincts of freedom, delicacy, and self-restraint.

### The Dean of Lincoln

The Home Secretary has no moral right to inflict physical torture. He has the right to let them refuse food, and if they choose even to die for their cause. Dying for your cause is one way of winning. That would appear to be what the Home Secretary does not want. So he goes as far as he dares.

(a) I always understood that the "Cat and Mouse" Act was to relieve him of such an attempt. Why does he not make use of it as the majority of people meant? (b) May I add that though personally I am against militancy I am equally against torture—which forcible feeding undoubtedly is, and (c) I am in favour of Votes for Women.

### The Rev. Canon Scott-Molland, D.D.

This meeting is being called, not in defence of lawlessness, but to retrieve the honour of the law. None desire more strenuously than we do to see the law hold unquestioned command over the conscience of the people; that is why we vehemently protest against its taking the ugly, debasing and ignominious form of "forcible feeding." That justice which "preserves the stars from wrong" cannot afford to translate itself into these terms. Its moral dignity is gone if it is employed in acts which necessarily involve physical violence and torture. . . . If I am asked to show a better way out of the difficulty in which the Government finds itself, I answer that the difficulty is only there because Liberalism has been false to its own best traditions.

(1) It tried to cure an evil by force alone, without offering any simultaneous remedy. (2) It insists on governing without the consent of the governed. (3) It refuses enfranchisement to those who, while abhorring all violence, have with an overwhelming power and persistence pressed their claim to a vote on grounds which no one who calls himself a Liberal can venture to repudiate or deny.

### The Headmaster of Repton

I am sorry to say that I was bound to refuse the kind invitation to take part in the meeting, December 5. I should be prepared to go to great trouble myself in order to be present on such an occasion, but I have no right to be away from school any more than I have arranged to be during this term.

The Bishops of Lincoln and Hereford also supported the meeting.

## POINTS FROM THE SPEECHES

### THE CHAIR

The Bishop of Kensington began by saying:—"Those who act with me and support me here to-night are impressed with the gravity of the issues raised by the bare mention of the subject of forcible feeding. We feel that we cannot keep silence at a time when society is rapidly drifting into a state of relaxation and hopeless conflict,

and when apparently the great mass of the public is ignorant of what is involved."

### "At the Risk of Being Misunderstood"

"At the risk of being misunderstood, and before matters are further precipitated, we come forward and claim to speak as Peacemakers. We fully realise how precarious is the position of any who intervene in a quarrel when feeling on both sides is deeply roused, and when both are smarting under a sense of injury. But we cannot help it; we recognise that we should be false to our calling, both as citizens and as Christian leaders, if we were to decide to say and do nothing. We beseech the public to pause and consider what this inevitable alternative is to which the nation is to be committed, if resort is again to be made to forcible feeding."

By comparing the vision revealed to the militant woman with that revealed to Balaam's ass, the Bishop stated the case for militancy with great feeling, and evoked loud applause. Proceeding to dissociate himself and his colleagues from support of revolutionary actions, he was greatly interrupted all over the hall, and had to wait once while three cheers were given for Mrs. Pankhurst. He finished what he had to say in spite of interruptions, and was much applauded for his concluding sentence:—

This meeting of clergy is at least a witness that there is an alternative to all actions of coercion on the one hand, or of violence on the other, an alternative to which resort has not yet been made with sincerity—submission to the Divine law of justice and mercy.

### CANON SIMPSON

The Rev. Canon Simpson (St. Paul's) began by a reference to the recent letter of the Dean of Durham on the treatment of the militants. "It is sad," he said, "to differ from deans. (Laughter.)"

"The Deaneries of England,  
How beautiful they stand;  
A credit to our ancient Church,  
The glory of our land."

"I have been reminded by the chairman that another distinguished Dean in shining armour has recently appeared against us. When I saw those two letters growing in beauty side by side I could not help remembering a passage from Wordsworth:—

"Ye blessed creatures, I can hear  
The calls ye to each other make."

"The refusal of the franchise," he proceeded, "had led a formidable minority to declare that they would not hold themselves bound by laws to which they were denied the constitutional right of assent. Who are we," he added, "that we should cast stones? Does not Sir Edward Carson assure us that in a not very remote contingency the green fields of Erin will be stained with the red blood of her sons? (Laughter.) If that is not a sinister threat directed against a Parliamentary majority compared with which the burning of Mr. Lloyd George's unfinished bungalow pales into insignificance, language has lost its meaning."

### SIR VICTOR HORSLEY

Sir Victor Horsley gave the medical point of view. He reminded his audience that Suffragist prisoners had remedied many prison abuses, and said: "We are here to-night to wipe off a blot from the national escutcheon." He considered forcible feeding had come about through two errors—(1) The treatment of Suffragist prisoners as criminals; (2) The Lord Chief Justice's ruling in the case of Leigh v. Gladstone. He ended by referring to "this most painful chapter of our history," and quoted Gladstone's recommendation, "Intelligently to anticipate reform."

### THE REV. T. A. LACEY

The Rev. T. A. Lacey said:—"We on this platform are officers and men of the Church militant; we are therefore fighting men, and we respect fighters. We do not always approve of their methods; we respect them, and we are here this evening to talk about the treatment of certain fighters."

He spoke of the attitude of the militants in breaking the law for a political purpose as "a perfectly praiseworthy attitude," and while deprecating their adoption of the hunger strike (loud dissent), added emphatically, "We are not here to sit in judgment on them, but on ourselves. Gentlemen, I speak to you because you and I are responsible for everything that is being done by the Government."

### "I Have a Troubled Conscience"

"I have a troubled conscience because I believe the law is being broken in my name. These women have been convicted

and they have been sentenced to imprisonment with or without hard labour. They have not been sentenced to be assaulted. (Applause.) . . . The Dean of St. Paul's says they are anarchists. They are not anarchists. They are rebels. They are self-declared outlaws."

### MR. C. MANSELL-MOULLIN

Mr. C. Mansell-Moullin, saying that the public do not know the facts about forcible feeding because the Press will not publish them, gave a moving and graphic description, from personal knowledge of the prisoners (he had notes of 102 cases), of the sufferings of the forcibly fed woman or man, and disposed of the theory that because it is a process carried on in our lunatic asylums it is therefore applicable to sane and resisting political prisoners. It was torture, he said, a disgrace to the medical profession, to the Government, the House of Commons, to the nation and to Christianity. (Loud cheers.)

### OTHER SPEAKERS

Other speakers were the Rev. Lewis Donaldson, who made an eloquent speech showing his understanding of the militant women's position by drawing a fine distinction between what he called "criminal vice and heroic error"; and the Rev. A. E. Cornibee, who claimed to represent many clergy in Manchester and Lancashire, and went on to say:—

"I think the time has come long since when there ought to be a strong society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Women, and I for one hope that one of the results of this meeting to-night will be that a large number of us will determine at all costs, whether we are banded in a society or not, to use every means in our power to make it impossible for this intolerable cruelty to be continued. That is the first thing. The second is this: that even on this platform to-night I think there has been too much inclination to condemn. What we want to-day is not condemnation, but the spirit of compassion and effectual help." (Applause.)

### AS FAR AWAY AS LISBON IS

So many well-known English men and women have agitated over the treatment of Portuguese political prisoners while remaining sublimely indifferent to the claims of their own countrywomen in Holloway and other gaols that it is pleasant to read in the *Morning Post* (December 5) that "the régime in the Penitenciaría at Lisbon has been modified. Political prisoners are allowed to go into one another's cells one at a time and also to take their mid-day meal together. They may also take exercise for one hour together, instead of in solitude, as hitherto. The right of visiting the prisoners is granted only to near relations."

### Our Suggestion

Since women political prisoners in this country are never permitted to take their meals together or to go into one another's cells, and are allowed only a minimum of visitors of any kind, and when they protest against this treatment by the hunger strike are subjected to medieval forms of torture, we suggest that influential Portuguese democrats should be induced to sign petitions on behalf of English Suffragist prisoners in the hope that something may be done to raise the English standard of prison régime at least to the level of that of Portugal.

### ANOTHER SCOTTISH VICTORY

Edinburgh Town Council Votes by a Majority of Two to One to Petition Parliament on the Suffrage

An interesting discussion took place on Tuesday, December 2, in the Edinburgh Town Council, when Councillor Crawford, a member of the Northern Men's Federation, moved that the Council petition Parliament in favour of extending the Parliamentary franchise to women. The motion was ably seconded by Councillor Bruce Lindsay, who was chairman at the recent Edinburgh mass meeting of the Federation. Councillors Cameron, Young, and Barrie, also members of the Federation, spoke, among others, in support of the motion. Councillor Crawford's short, telling, and convincing speech was well followed up by his supporters.

### No Opposition to the Principle

One impressive point in the discussion was the fact that no opposition whatever to the principle of granting votes to women was put forward by anyone. Those who opposed the motion did so on the ground that, as it was a political question, it ought not in their opinion, to be dealt with by the Town Council. On the vote being taken, 29 voted in favour of the motion, and 12 against.

# REBEL WOMAN AND THE GOVERNMENT

Re-arrest and Release of Mrs. Pankhurst—£16,000 For The Rebel War Chest—Press Comments

Mrs. Pankhurst was re-arrested for a fourth time under the Cat and Mouse Act on her return from America on December 4, and was released after a hunger and thirst strike on Sunday, December 7.

The White Star liner Majestic arrived at Plymouth on Thursday morning in last week, rather late owing to fog and gales. Mrs. Pankhurst had travelled on board her from New York, and as the time drew near for her arrival it was thought she would be re-arrested, and large numbers of Suffragists were assembled at Plymouth to try and prevent this. A crowd of about 5,000 people gathered outside the dock gates, and as one morning paper says, the police precautions were "on an interestingly elaborate, even Gilbertian scale."

## Guard of Two Warships

The ordinary tender, with the Press on board, on its way out to the Majestic, was held up for two hours half-way, and its view of the liner was obscured by two warships, which lay-to in front of it. These warships also placed themselves in the way of the little W.S.P.U. tug which was going out to the Majestic, and delayed it so that another tug bearing the police reached the ship before it.

This use of warships suggests an explanation of the increased armaments' scare. If it takes two warships to arrest one rebel woman, how many would it require to smash a foreign navy?

## What "Parole?"

A wardress and six police officers, including Inspector Riley and the Chief Constable of Plymouth, boarded the vessel.

They found Mrs. Pankhurst on deck; she had been warned by wireless of probable arrest. When told that they had come to arrest her she said, "Where is your authority? Have you a warrant?" She was told that no warrant was required for her arrest, as her licence had expired, and she had "broken her parole."

Mrs. Pankhurst was then asked to enter the waiting launch, which she quietly did, accompanied by one friend who was travelling with her. She was not taken to the usual landing-place at Plymouth, but to an unfrequented wharf at Devonport where she and the police entered two waiting motors, her American friend being told she must go no farther.

## A Secret Journey

The police refused to tell Mrs. Pankhurst the name of her destination, which proved to be Exeter Prison, the journey to which was accomplished by motor.

Mrs. Pankhurst immediately commenced a hunger and thirst strike, and was released on Sunday evening at ten o'clock on a seven days' licence. She was driven from the prison to the Great Western Hotel in a hired fly, accompanied by the prison doctor and a wardress. The Suffragists, who had been patrolling the prison ever since she was taken there, followed in a motor. At the hotel her own nurse was in waiting, and a woman doctor arrived in a few minutes.

On Monday morning Mrs. Pankhurst travelled to London, and was cheered at Paddington by a crowd of sympathisers. She drove in an ambulance from the station to Lincoln's Inn House.

On Tuesday she left Victoria by the 11 o'clock train for Paris, where she intends to stay for two or three days. She was driven from Lincoln's Inn House to the station in an ambulance, and was carried to the train in a chair. Superintendent Quinn was on the station.

## PRAYED FOR IN THE CHURCHES

In response to representations made to the Bishop of Marlborough, who is Dean of Exeter, special prayers were offered for Mrs. Pankhurst in Exeter Cathedral on Sunday morning. At St. Paul's Cathedral and several other churches, where prayers were not offered for her by the clergy, this was done by members of the congregations.

## W.S.P.U. MASS MEETING £16,000 Collection

The news of Mrs. Pankhurst's release was received with the utmost enthusiasm at the great W.S.P.U. meeting at the Empress Hall, Earl's Court, on Sunday night, the audience cheering for many minutes. The meeting had been originally arranged as one of welcome to Mrs. Pankhurst on her return from America, but was turned into a protest against her re-arrest. A sum of £16,000 was collected or promised, including £4,000 brought by Mrs. Pankhurst from America. Mrs.

Drummond was in the chair, and said that they were determined that Mrs. Pankhurst should never again be arrested, that their bodyguard was growing daily stronger, and that they would be prepared to face even battleships. She also said that many letters containing tickets for the meeting had been tampered with in the post, and had never reached their owners, and that this and not a failure to sell the tickets accounted for the empty seats in the hall. Mrs. Dacre Fox and Miss Joan Wickham also spoke. Miss Annie Kenney was brought on to the platform on a stretcher.

## PRESS COMMENTS

The officer who arrested her did so without a warrant, declaring that she was a prisoner on licence, and that she had broken her parole. This is a very remarkable proceeding. What parole? We are not aware that Mrs. Pankhurst ever gave her parole. And what offence has she committed since she was ostentatiously allowed (if we may so put it) to leave this country, for a lecturing tour designed, of course, to strengthen the funds of the W.S.P.U.? The date on which her licence expired had been passed before she sailed, and she had spoken in public after her release from prison. There seems to us room for a good many explanations here.—Nation.

Our governors are as crude and stupid as ever. Their minions have re-arrested Mrs. Pankhurst as she approached that England where we used to be told slaves could not breathe, and where Freedom was enthroned in majesty and glamour. The woman's movement in general raises a number of inspiring considerations: intellectual, artistic, spiritual, as well as civic. It is shameful that its pioneers of many grades should be met by methods that would be deemed disgraceful by "savages." How long will Britain tolerate the degradation?—Daily Herald.

The Home Office and the police may be proud of their achievement, but to people of common sense their proceedings look simply farcical, and they ought not to be allowed to make this country the laughing-stock of the world.—Christian Commonwealth.

## MISS SYLVIA PANKHURST

Miss Sylvia Pankhurst was re-arrested on Tuesday night as she left a W.S.P.U. meeting at the Shoreditch Town Hall, held in connection with the People's Army. Miss Pankhurst left the hall in advance of the audience, a police cordon had been drawn around it, and she was seized by two plain clothes officers and conveyed first to the Old Street Police Station, and

then to Holloway. It had been intended to try and divert the attention of the police by carrying out a dummy figure. This is Miss Pankhurst's fourth re-arrest under the Cat and Mouse Act.

## MISS ANNIE KENNEY

Miss Annie Kenney left London for Lugano on Monday in accordance with medical advice.

## OTHER NEWS OF PRISONERS

Miss Agnes Lake was re-arrested outside her house at Leytonstone on Tuesday evening. This is her second re-arrest under the Cat and Mouse Act.

Mrs. Sheehy Skeffington was released from Mountjoy Prison on December 3 after hunger-striking since the previous Friday. The Suffragist "B," who had been released on licence, is now reported missing. A meeting was held outside her house, and she escaped in the crowd. She had been remanded at Leeds on November 25 on a charge of attempting to fire a football stand.

## RELEASE THE SUFFRAGIST PRISONERS

The following resolution was passed by the Fabian Society at a meeting held in the Memorial Hall on December 5:—

"That this meeting of the Fabian Society calls attention to the differentiation in the treatment of women suffragists convicted of conspiracy and incitement, and that given to men guilty of similar offences. It points out that whereas Sir Edward Carson has not been even arrested for unlawful training and drilling of armed men and open incitement to set the laws of the realm at defiance; that whereas Mr. Lansbury, sent to prison for incitement to crime, was released after two days' imprisonment under the Cat and Mouse Act, and has not been re-arrested. Whereas Mr. Larkin, sentenced for sedition, was released after a few days, yet a vindictive policy of insisting on the full term of punishment is being pursued towards suffragist prisoners. It points out that Mrs. Pankhurst, after serving four successive periods of imprisonment amounting to twenty-one days, hunger-striking all the time, was re-arrested before she set foot on English soil; that Mrs. Sanders, for no worse offence than being book-keeper of the W.S.P.U., was sentenced to fifteen months' imprisonment, and has been released and re-arrested three times. The Fabian Society assures the Government that no clearer demonstration could be given of the dangers of differential treatment entailed on women by their present voteless condition, and suggests the desirability of pursuing in their case the policy adopted towards Sir Edward Carson and Mr. Larkin and Mr. Lansbury, and calls on

the Government to pardon Mrs. Pankhurst and the other suffragist prisoners convicted of conspiracy or incitement."

## THE SCOTSMEN'S DEMAND

The following resolution was passed unanimously at a meeting of the Northern Men's Federation at the Burgh Hall, Springburn, Glasgow, on November 28:— "That this meeting of voters demands that Women Suffrage on equal terms with men be incorporated in the King's Speech in 1914. It further demands the immediate repeal of the infamous Cat and Mouse Act which Mr. Asquith has forced on the women as the only alternative to his broken pledges."

## GUARDED MINISTERS

It is reported in the Press that Lord Haldane, on his arrival at Temple Meads, Clifton, instead of crossing the railway bridge and leaving the station in the usual way, passed through a parcel van and on to another platform; this he did to escape the notice of Suffragists. It is also reported that Mr. Asquith received a telegram while attending a meeting at Oldham the other night, that he opened it, then crushed it up angrily, and threw it to the ground. It is to be supposed that this was the telegram which was sent to him at that meeting by the Manchester Men's League, and which ran as follows:— "Manchester Men's League for Women's Suffrage protest against re-arrest of Mrs. Pankhurst, and repeat demand for Government measure for enfranchisement of women." The Premier, with Mrs. and Miss Asquith, were the guests of Lord Sheffield at Alderley Park, Cheshire, for the week-end. On Sunday morning a large congregation assembled in the hope of seeing Mr. Asquith, but he was not seen out of doors the whole day. London detectives and police kept watch day and night.

## TOO MUCH EXPLANATION

We wonder why so many eminent people, scientists and others, are at so much pains to explain the militant woman on occasions when they get up to speak about something quite different. Professor Sadler found all sorts of interesting explanations, except the right one, for the existence of militancy in women, when he was speaking to the students at the Doncaster Municipal High School the other day, and he spent quite a long time discussing the different aspects of it.

What waste of time! Militancy is not an interesting disease, nor is it a passing hobby, like ping-pong. And there is a perfectly simple reason for it, which Professor Sadler did not mention.

Women are militant because the Government won't give them the vote. Why invent theories about it in order to obscure this perfectly plain fact?

## REVOLUTIONARY ACTIONS

The following incidents have been attributed in the Press to Suffragists during the week:—

Thursday, December 4.—Black fluid poured into letter-box at Park Lane, Croydon.

Friday, December 5.—Kelly House, Renfrewshire, totally destroyed by fire. House unoccupied, and said to be valued at £30,000. Suffrage literature found.

Window found broken at Post Office, High Road, Streatham; Suffragists suspected.

Saturday, December 6.—The Exhibition Hall at Rusholme, Manchester, completely destroyed by fire; damage estimated at £11,000. Suffrage message found.

Fire, causing serious damage, at scenic railway, Liverpool Exhibition; Suffrage message left.

Attempt to burn grand stand. Air-tree racecourse, Liverpool; Suffragist literature found.

Sunday, December 7.—Attempt to fire Ardgarth House, Shandon, Dumbartonshire, a large building belonging to the United Free Church of Scotland. Suffragist literature found.

## IN THE COURTS

Monday, December 8.—At Thornaby-on-Tees, charged with firing the Stockton racecourse stand last November, Miss Lizzie Crow; remanded, bail refused by defendant.

Tuesday, December 9.—In the Appeal Court, *Bebb v. the Law Society*. (See page 161.)

Tuesday, December 9.—At the Greenwich Police Court, summoned for refusal to pay her dog licence, Miss Agnes Metcalf, fined 7s. and 2s. costs; fine paid.

Wednesday, December 10.—At the Old Street Police Court, charged with obstruction at the arrest of Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, Mrs. Ford, 40s., or one month; Mr. Wm. Hall and Mr. Chas. Gray, discharged; and Mr. Chas. Trant, two months' hard labour.

In Court of Appeal, *Bebb v. the Law Society*.

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## THE MOVEMENT ABROAD

### IN THE STATES

#### The Mandate Theory Again!

According to Press telegrams, it appears that President Wilson has refused the request of a Suffrage deputation that he would deal with the Suffrage amendment to the United States Constitution, in a message to Congress. The reason he gave for his refusal was that he had to confine himself to those things which have been embodied as promises to the people at an election.

American Suffragists, if this newspaper report be true, have all our sympathy. We in this country know what it is to see Woman Suffrage sacrificed at the shrine of the mandate theory, while no mandate from the country is apparently necessary in order to allow the Government to force such legislation upon women as the Insurance and Children Acts. But perhaps the report is entirely imaginary. We have mild suspicions that it may be so, judging by the following contradictory accounts of the way in which the reputation received President Wilson's answer.

#### Take your Choice!

The *Daily Telegraph* said:—"There was no militancy shown by any of the delegates, and the President's manner of dodging the question . . . did not cause any resentment to his visitors."

A Central News cable said:—"The deputation left White House in a state of dejection, and Dr. Shaw gave way to tears."

### IN FRANCE

#### The Truth about the Vote in the Chamber

It will be remembered that during the discussion on proportional representation in the French Chamber on November 11, an amendment proposing to give women the vote on equal terms with men was defeated by a large majority. Information now received from Miss Sheepshanks, of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, adds the welcome news that this was

not a vote adverse to woman suffrage at all. Miss Sheepshanks writes:—

"M. Andrieux, in the discussion on proportional representation, proposed an amendment to give women the vote on the same terms as men. He spoke well and convincingly, and asked for a vote on the principle of woman suffrage. M. Ferdinand Buisson, however, the well-known supporter of woman suffrage and President of the Committee for Universal Suffrage, spoke on behalf both of the supporters of proportional representation and of the women suffrage societies, and pointed out that the introduction of the woman suffrage amendment was entirely irrelevant to the question of proportional representation, and that it was contrary to the wishes of the suffragists themselves that the question should be introduced under such unfavourable circumstances."

#### Not a Defeat for the Suffrage

He and other well-known supporters of woman suffrage demanded, therefore, that woman suffrage should be considered separately from the question of proportional representation. The Chamber accordingly voted for separating M. Andrieux's amendment from the discussion on proportional representation. This was not intended, and is not to be taken as in any way a defeat for woman suffrage. It was simply decided not to consider the question on that occasion, and those who supported this decision united in agreeing that an early date should be found for a full and worthy discussion of the women's question.

"The corrected figures for the vote were: For separating M. Andrieux's amendment, 302; Against, 117."

#### Our "Anti" Press

In a letter to the *Times*, Miss Sheepshanks points out further that the remark made by the Paris correspondent of that paper, to the effect that there is no demand for the vote among French women, is at least open to argument. There are ten suffrage societies in France, and eighteen suffrage newspapers, she says; and the French League for the Rights of Men, which numbers 80,000, has declared for woman suffrage.

Need we add that the *Times* did not insert this information, nor the particulars given above as to the truth about the "adverse" vote in the French Chamber?

## COATS FOR WOMEN AND SKIRTS

# HALL

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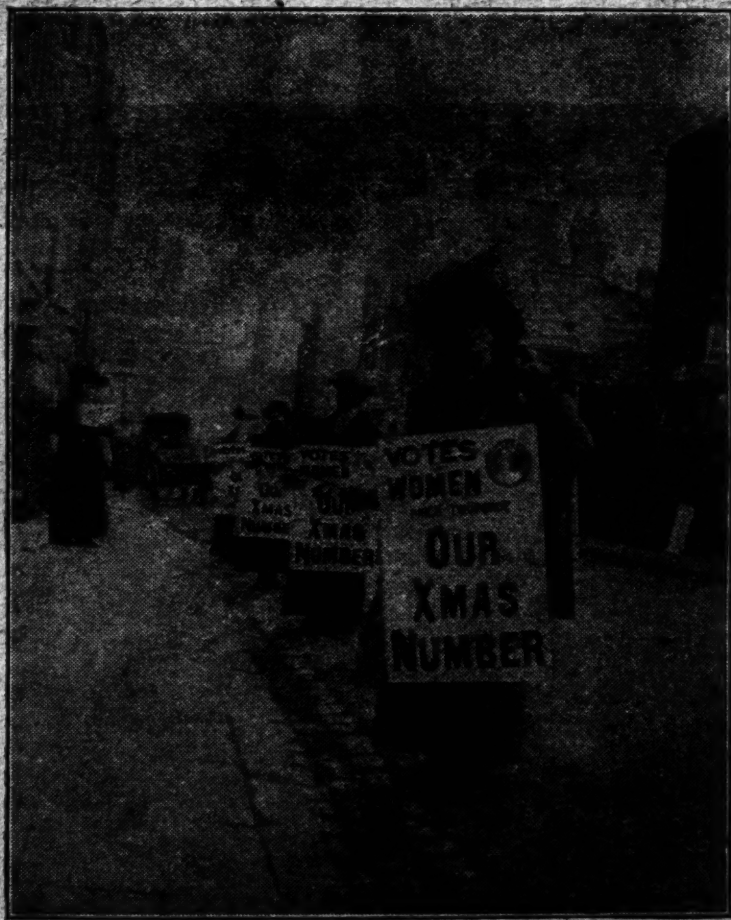
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## A CHRISTMAS POSTER PARADE



The lantern poster parade to advertise our Xmas number, last Friday evening, was a great success in every way. The wind and rain subsided gradually as the evening crept on; it seemed as though the elements arranged things to favour our undertaking. The posters, which were decorated in true Christmas fashion with holly and trimmings in the colours of the Votes for Women Fellowship, looked quite picturesque. We each carried two, one in front and one on the back, and in our right hand the lamp-carriers, also in the Fellowship colours; while others carried copies of the current issue in the pretty Votes for Women bags. It was a charming sight to see the long trail of shining lights of Purple, White and Red, winding its way along the thronged thoroughfares. Busy people, hurrying homewards, were arrested by this novel method of advertising Votes for Women, and all kinds of exclamations reached our ears.

"Are the 'wonderful' things?" "Yes, what are those of shining lights?" and

"How appropriate!" — unwittingly though these last words were spoken, since we are out "To spread the Light," which is our motto. Only once did the old, old advice reach our ears—"Go home and do the washing." The man who gave it must have been sorry he spoke, for all the bystanders jeered at him when the woman to whom he flung the advice replied: "On Friday nights, in well-ordered homes, there is no washing done."

We were asked which of us were the wise and which the foolish virgins. Many people cheered us as we went along, and many admired our pluck in coming out like that. We sold a very large number of papers, and the parade was such a success that we hope to have others like it quite regularly.

#### One Who Paraded.

The Kensington Group of Fellows also successfully carried out a special poster parade, which is represented in our pic-

## THE WOMAN'S MOVEMENT AND THE SICK CHILD

(From our Special Correspondent.)

In my foolishness I had called it "688, Harrow Road," on tendering my fare to the omnibus conductor. When he set me down some fifty yards beyond my destination he observed reproachfully, "Why didn't you say the Children's Hospital, lady? I should have known then where you wanted to stop."

Anyone within a radius of a mile or two could have directed me to the Women's Hospital for Children on Thursday afternoon in last week. It is not much more than a year since this woman's enterprise was first started—just one small house in one of London's poorest neighbourhoods, staffed and managed entirely by women, for out-patients under the age of fourteen. There are three houses now, and a Building Fund of £4,000. During the second year of its existence 4,000 children have been dealt with, and the daily attendance has varied from fifty to 100. The London County Council has also made it one of its treatment centres for school children. And last week an In-patient Department was opened by Mrs. Hertha Ayrton, consisting of a small ward containing seven cots, or rather, to be strictly accurate, six cots and one bassinette. (The proud occupant of the bassinette, by the way, made militant interruptions all through the dedication service, which was read by the Bishop of Kensington, and consequently secured the full care and attention of the nursing staff, which no doubt was what he intended should happen.)

#### "I've Saved for Ages"

It was Pound day as well as Dedication day, and besides £100, which had been given in sovereigns, the small waiting-room downstairs was filled with 400 separate pounds of every household commodity, from cotton-wool to sugar. And there was one half-pound of rice from a small boy who, as he expressed it, had "Saved for ages," in order to buy it. The working-class support of the Hospital is one of the most encouraging signs of the times, for it proves that it is not from this portion of the community that the notion springs that women-doctors are not fit persons to attend sick children. The working man is as ready as the working woman to think, as Mrs. Deane Streatfield said in her speech at the short meeting held before the dedication service, that it is the most natural thing in the world for a woman to be the medical adviser on the children's

health. And as a proof of this feeling in the Harrow Road neighbourhood, I need only mention the facts that £45 of the yearly income of the Hospital is contributed by working men, and that a working woman sits on the Managing Committee.

#### Where the Movement Comes In

Although the word "vote" was never mentioned, one felt its influence throughout Thursday's ceremony, especially in the speeches. One point that roused special applause was the announcement that the nurses in this Hospital had a nine hours' day, including meal times, and one day off in three weeks. The hours at ordinary hospitals, Mrs. Deane Streatfield pointed out, are anything up to fifteen, and only one free day a month is given. Another point greeted with enthusiasm was Mrs. Warburg's announcement that in spite of the immense need for bigger premises the Hospital meant to pay its way and not to run into debt. And every reference to the fact that the Hospital is staffed only by women doctors roused sympathy in an audience that probably knew that no other London Children's Hospital admits women doctors either to Residential or Staff appointments, and that children are thus denied the care of medical women, while medical women are deprived of the best opportunities for studying children's diseases.

#### The Bishop Strikes the Nail on the Head

The Bishop of Kensington finally struck the right nail on the head when he said it was "incredible" that women should first have been debarred from studying medicine at all, and then from tending sick children. This Women's Hospital for Children he described as a great venture of faith, hope, and love; he regarded it also as answering a want that had always been felt, and as part of a great movement in which he was interested, not so much on its political side as because of the hope it held for the future—a future involved in the care of the child.

Then everybody separated into groups, and one of the largest was formed round a woman in University robes who was denouncing the prison system—from practical experience of it. One came away feeling that there are many aspects of the woman's fight for freedom, and that a woman's hospital for children unites more than one of them.

## COMPARISON OF PUNISHMENTS

### LIGHT SENTENCES Indecent Assault

The *Dover Express* reports case of a Boots Guard, charged before the Croydon magistrates with indecently assaulting a little girl of eight. The Chairman said the Bench had the power to send him to hard labour, but he was not a criminal, he was a man of character!

Sentence: Three months in the second division.

### Cruelty to Horses

The *South-Eastern Gazette* (November 25) reports case of a driver and contractor summoned at the Faversham County Sessions for cruelly ill-treating two worn-out horses by sending them by train when only fit to be shot. The magistrates considered the case one of gross cruelty.

Sentence: Driver fined 1s., with 12s. costs, or seven days; contractor fined £10 and £1 11s. 6d. costs, or one month.

### Wife Assault

The *Aberdeen Evening Express* (November 19) reports case of an engineer charged at Aberdeen Police Court before Bailie Young with assaulting his wife by pulling her about by her hair, beating her on the face and body, and causing an infusion of blood, and further with conducting himself in a disorderly manner. There were previous convictions for assault.

Sentence: Twenty-one days' imprisonment.

### HEAVY SENTENCES Attempted Burglary

The *Times* (December 3) reports case of a labourer and a flower-seller, charged at the London Sessions before Mr. Lawrie with attempting to break into a shop in Uxbridge Road. There were previous convictions.

Sentence: Fifteen months' imprisonment in each case.

### Theft

The *Birmingham Weekly Post* (December 6) reports case of a carter charged at the Birmingham Assizes before Judge Rowlett with stealing an overcoat.

Sentence: Six months' hard labour.

### Stealing Bicycles

The *Times* (November 22) reports case of a fitter and news-vendor, charged before Mr. Montagu Sharpe at the Middlesex Sessions with stealing two motor bicycles. No previous convictions.

Sentence: The fitter to three years' penal servitude, and the news-vendor to six months' imprisonment with hard labour.

### "JUDGE'S WISH"

Under this heading the *Kentish Express* gives an account of a charge of gross indecency brought against a seaman at Chatham on August 14. The prisoner was given an exemplary character of eleven years in the Navy, and in summing up the judge said to the jury: "You know what verdict would suit me best." He was found not guilty and acquitted.

### Why have a Jury?

Not having more than a meagre newspaper report on which to form an opinion, we cannot say how far the judge was justified in assuming that the man was innocent. It is possible that he was not guilty and was justly acquitted. But by what right did the judge put the verdict into the jury's mouth? Surely it would be simpler to have no jury at all!

### MAXIMUM PENALTY FOR TORTURE

At Brentford Police Court a man was sent to prison, says the *Glasgow Weekly Herald* (December 6) "for three months' hard labour, the maximum penalty for torturing a horse." If this is so, here is another fact to strengthen our argument that the standard of punishments in this country needs readjustment. In the particular case quoted, the man had been seen punching the animal's head with his fist and twisting its tongue, so that it was afterwards found with an artery lacerated and two deep wounds in its tongue. The Chairman of the Bench said it was the worst case of brutal cruelty the Court had heard. Yet he could not impose more than three months' imprisonment upon the offender!

For breaking plate glass in the cause of women's freedom, Suffragists have been sentenced to as much as six months' imprisonment. Apparently, there is only a low maximum penalty when flesh and blood are concerned.

## THE WHITE SLAVE TRADE

### WOMEN'S WAGES AND WHITE SLAVERY "Tolerated for 6,000 Years"

Speaking on White Slavery at a meeting of the Women's Freedom League last week, Mr. E. B. Lloyd showed the close connection between the sweating and the prostitution of women. There was no need, he said, for such crude methods as the trapping of women for the purposes of the White Slave Traffic. The supply was almost equal to the demand; in New York, he believed, equal to the demand. The real creators of the trade were, among others, the employers of sweated labour. Girls were too often directed into their degradation by the mere fact that the conditions under which they lived made it impossible to spare time or money for any human pleasure.

The speaker ended by showing how much women's political helplessness came into the question. For 6,000 years the world had tolerated the systematic degradation of women, but a world in whose government the women had a share would not tolerate it for sixty years.

### "Do What Other Girls Do"

The Bishop of Kensington, in a recent communication to the Press, made a poignant statement which should be taken to heart by all who deny that there is any relation between vice and low wages. He says:—

"I have known girls tired of a life of hard work and semi-starvation to supplement their wages at the cost of their virtue. From a knowledge of cases of girls who have passed through our rescue homes I am able to assert that a very large proportion trace their fall to the necessity of living. Again and again the girls have said that an application for an increase of wages would be met by the reply:—'If you want more money do what other girls do.'"

### WHITE SLAVERY AND THE AGE OF CONSENT

According to the *Buenos Aires Standard* 1,000 persons left the capital on the

passing of the new law for the suppression of the White Slave Traffic.

*Jus Suffragis* (December) reminds us that since the women of California won the vote the habit of the judges to fix low bail for men accused of crimes against women and girls has been assailed to such an extent (resulting in the recall of one judge altogether), that now all judges fix suitable bail, and so bring offenders to trial.

By the Legislature of 1913 the age of consent in California was raised to eighteen, and the penalty for rape increased.

### SHOULD RESCUE HOMES BE SUPPORTED?

The following letter has been sent by the Rev. R. Exton to the secretary of the London Diocesan Council:—

Dear Sir,—I have received your notice of the service for "Preventive, Rescue, and Penitentiary Work." I fear I cannot attend, nor am I altogether carried away by the sentiments which such a cause naturally calls out. I cannot but regard it, as I do so-called charity, as parts of a great scheme (by many not realised) to hide up and lessen the public knowledge of the great evils which we all wish to remedy, be they immorality or poverty. You might as well try to cure cancer by putting ointment on the skin.

If you are really in earnest:—

1. See that women have the vote.
2. Let all religious teachers create a public feeling that there can be only one code of morals for men and women.
3. See that a law is passed by which the father of an illegitimate child is made absolutely responsible for the keep and education of that child till it is sixteen years of age; made to pay the cost of the mother's illness, and let the child be registered in the name of its father.
4. Let the man who walks the street looking for women be considered equally a prostitute as the woman who is looking for men. The latter is less immoral, as she is generally forced into the life by economic conditions; with the former it is a matter of simple lust.
5. Do not expect women to be "penitents" while men go free.—Yours faithfully,

R. H. R. Exton.

### Chapter 4

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## CORRESPONDENCE

### A WOMEN'S GENERAL STRIKE

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—I wish to endorse the suggestion of "Instruisto" which appeared in VOTES FOR WOMEN the other day. The time has now arrived when the situation has become intolerable, and a grave danger to the country. Already (for I have only just returned from abroad, where I have spent some months in France and Belgium, and have had opportunities of testing foreign opinion on this question), other countries are thinking that England is indeed on the down grade when she can torture and oppress women, and those the best and most public spirited in the country.

I would suggest, in addition to the policy of "Instruisto," that all the non-militant unions should join in financing a large Albert Hall meeting, when an appeal should be made to all men and women to come out "on strike," and the names of those taken who are willing to join—as also the particular way in which they propose to carry it out. This could be done in various ways, such as tax resistance (for those on whom it is impossible to distract), and by stopping all support of the country either in money or personal service. I should suggest that each volunteer decided which form of "strike" suited best, the general idea being the withdrawal from the country by women (and men sympathisers) of that help and assistance they have hitherto given, until the vote is won.

I am aware that much of this policy has already been carried out by various unions, but I believe it would have a very much greater effect upon the minds of Cabinet Ministers even than it has now, if a "general strike" was organised; and it would gradually extend and draw in ever increasing numbers of men and women, and would become a powerful form of pressure which must eventually force the vote from an unwilling Cabinet, for it is by pressure alone that it can be obtained.

We might also call upon men sympathisers to organise a "sympathetic strike," for we must not lose sight of the fact that the pressure of votes, as well as the pressure of money, is of the highest importance in this fight for the vote.

The advantage of the policy I have suggested is that whilst embarrassing and crippling the Government, it allows of no reprisals. Surely the time has arrived in the history of this movement when the torture now being meted out to women should be transferred to the right shoulders, and there is only one way by which this can be done—by the total withdrawal by those who sympathise with the movement, of all support from the country until justice is done.—Yours, &c.,

CHARLOTTE E. IRELAND.

Malvern House, 29, Holland Park Avenue, W.

### "A BOYCOTT OF MEN DOCTORS"

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—Re the excellent letter under above heading in your issue of 28th ult., it is indeed time "that women should awake to a sense of their own dignity, and whenever possible refuse the attendance of the medical man in their time of need."

Personally, I (and many friends) would gladly welcome such an organised boycott, a "League," the members paying a small annual subscription, the net proceeds to be devoted to the women's hospitals which are staffed by women doctors only, or for the assisted training of young women who for pecuniary reasons are now debarred from entering the profession. Is it not indeed time that all women should refuse their support to women's hospitals (and indeed all general hospitals) which exclude the medical woman from their staff? How utterly absurd that these very hospitals should be mainly supported by the subscriptions of our own sex! For all reasons of self-respect and dignity we should employ the medical woman, just as men for the same reason always employ the doctor of his own sex, and now, even in hospital and infirmary, is demanding the male nurse or attendant. But there is a further tremendous reason why we as Suffragists should adopt this principle as part of our programme, viz.: the economic one.

Let us consider for a moment what a vast amount of wealth would now be in the hands of our own sex if throughout the ages woman, not man, had been trained as obstetrician and gynaecologist. Yet all this is essentially woman's work. What work under heaven is so essentially a

woman's as that of delivering the mother of her child?

Let us not forget that from the time of Moses until within the last century this branch of medicine was entirely in the hands of our own sex, although, because of insufficient training, the midwife doctor received only a nominal remuneration. Then came the deep injustice to women. A thorough medical education having been considered necessary, men not women were trained. And now that the medical profession is open to our sex, we must lay claim to that which is truly our own. If all women were attended by their own sex the profession would be mainly in the hands of the medical woman, and let us realise the immense power, political and otherwise, wielded by this profession.

Yes, all honour to the few medical men who have stood by us in our protest against forcible feeding, but even as regards these our friends we have a right to give preference to the medical woman whenever possible. This is only natural; just as man, for reasons of self-respecting dignity, boycotts the lady doctor as regards personal medical attendance.

We sincerely trust that such a League may be formed.—Yours, &c.,

J. D.

London, S.W.

### CHILD LABOUR IN AUSTRALIA

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—May I suggest a further answer to Mr. W. Crooks on child labour in Australia, that is, the very much higher wages paid to farm labourers in the colonies than in England, making it often impossible for poor colonists to obtain other labour than that of their own children. Also, women with the vote must not be held as responsible as men for proper laws being voted as long as half the members of Parliament are not women, as they should be. When we get that I hope we shall get the land restored to the nation, and with its revenues the State maintenance of children, without which women will never be free.—Yours, &c.,

ADA M. F. SALIS.

Lescar, France.

### "VOTES FOR WOMEN" IN FREE LIBRARIES

With reference to a correspondent's letter in our Christmas issue, dealing with the placing of VOTES FOR WOMEN in public libraries, Mr. Ernest Bell writes from York House, Portugal Street, W.C., to say that he has been communicating with various public libraries to this effect, and adds:—

"Out of this number the following sixteen expressed their willingness to place the paper in their reading-room, and I have sent them copies each week, namely: Ashby, Bodmin, Briton-Ferry, Bury, Chatham, Coatbridge, Corstorphine, Dewsbury, East Ham, Erith, Gloucester, Grimsby, Guildford, Halifax, Hornsey and Kendal. Of the remainder, the following said they already had it: Arbroath, Barry, Bridgewater, Bromley, Cheshamford, Exeter. I send you these particulars in case you might wish—as I think would be desirable—to canvass the whole of the public libraries, and if so it would be a pity to go over the ground twice."

We take this opportunity of expressing our public thanks to Mr. Bell.

### THE ONLY SUFFRAGETTE IN BORNEO

A Fellow from Sarawak, Borneo, writes: Here are our signed cards. I will send 10s. on the first of every month by money order direct to you, or through a friend. The money I send is part of my salary, and I believe I am the only suffragette in this country. I superintend the native and European hospitals of the Company, and look after the women especially. It makes life very interesting out here, and my husband being Medical Officer, we work together."

### A FELLOW'S SUGGESTION

L. G. writes:—

"As I am very busy during the winter months, and have very little time to spare for suffragework beyond reading the paper and passing it on, I propose sending a regular subscription of £s. a month, to be used as you think best. I wonder if other busy folk would also help in this way, and thus bring in a regular income to the Fellowship?"

### MAKING HOME HAPPY

"You should try to make home happy," said the relative who gives advice. "When you come home at night, greet your wife with a kiss and a compliment."

"Henrietta has got far beyond such sentimental nonsense," replied Mr. Smith. "When I come home I am supposed to throw my hat into the air and shout, 'Votes for women!'"—The Woman's Journal.



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## WHAT IS LIBERALISM COMING TO?

### THE ANOMALOUS LIBERAL "ANTI"

We have already drawn attention to the Anti-Suffragist circular said to have been circulated among Liberal agents by Liberal Anti-Suffragists who are anxious to have Liberal seats held only by Anti-Suffragists—was there ever such a contradiction in terms and in fact?—and we now learn from a Central News telegram:—

A protest has been forwarded to the Prime Minister by a group of Liberal members strongly opposed to the extension of the franchise to women, taking exception to the methods which they believe are adopted in the selection of new Liberal candidates. There is a persistent rumour prevalent in Liberal circles that both Mr. Hingworth and Mr. Gulland, especially the latter, are making it an essential to official recommendation that an aspiring candidate should pledge himself to support votes for women, and, while this is denied, those who believe in it profess to find confirmation in Mr. Lloyd George's statement at Oxford that he believed that almost all new candidates favoured the cause of the women.

### Beginning of a Bitter Struggle

Whatever be the truth of the rumour (adds the Central News), it has given rise to extreme feeling, and the demand made to Mr. Asquith for inquiry into the whole circumstances may be regarded as merely the beginning of a bitter struggle in the ranks of the Liberal party on the suffrage question. The Prime Minister's reply has not yet been received.

Mr. Barton's action at Oldham acquires fresh importance from these revelations.

### "SUFFRAGE FIRST"

Liberalism and the Vote

The following letter has been sent to the Prime Minister:—

I have just joined the "Suffrage First" Voters' League, and accordingly write to tell you that my vote at the next election will depend upon the attitude of political parties and their representatives towards votes for women. By birth, education, and lifelong conviction I am a Liberal, and I worked hard to help to secure the Hon. Harold Pearson's election as member for the Eyn Division of Suffolk. But since that date you, sir, have twice compelled me to vote on the Conservative side.

That a Parliament elected exclusively by male suffrage will, in all crucial cases, represent not the "vox Dei," but the "vox diaboli," was proved by your predecessor in office, Mr. Gladstone, when he carried through the House without a dissent, and almost without a protest, a Bill to compel each member of the Queen's "had not the gift of continence" to keep their

selves faithful to a duly registered and surgically supervised prostitute.

To Mr. Gladstone's memorable demonstration of the thesis that an exclusively male-elected Parliament is a standing menace alike to liberty, to morals, and to religion, you, sir, have added a still more irrefragable proof, by introducing the custom of forcible feeding into our political prisons, and by passing through both Houses with marvellous celerity the "Cat and Mouse" Bill. The object of those measures obviously is to terrorise and to silence those women who, however mistakenly or even insanely, have faced, and are still facing, torture and death for the sake of making England a country in which a decent woman may live without keeping her eyes always shut. It was precisely this woman's habit of keeping her eyes shut that enabled Mr. Gladstone to pass the C.D.A. But I trust, sir, that at the next General Election you will find that the women of England have begun to open their eyes.—Faithfully yours,

JAMES A. ARDIS.

Minster, Dunwich, Suffolk, Dec. 1.

### THE VULGAR JOKE AGAIN

It is surprising how woman as a vulgar joke still appeals to some minds. A deputation of assistants in Bristol libraries recently waited upon the council committee responsible for the administration to urge an increase in salary. According to Mr. H. H. Elvin, general secretary of the National Union of Clerks, speaking at a meeting at Exeter, the reply was: "You young ladies ought to get married. It is time some of you got off."

This is the sort of idea that Thérèse, in M. Brieux's play, had to combat in her struggle to earn an honest living. Bristol does not seem to differ much from France in this respect.

### WIFE ON THE LEVEL OF A DOG

The Vulgar Joke in the Courts

During the hearing of a slender suit in the King's Bench Division last Monday, Mr. Justice Darling is reported to have remarked that a man was responsible for what was uttered by his wife's tongue just as he was for a bite inflicted by his dog.

Mr. Matthews: Wives and wild beasts are not always on the same footing. (Laughter.)

The vulgar joke dies hard.

### A NEW JOB FOR PRISON DOCTORS

A suggestion has recently been made that as prison doctors willingly undertake torture, executions should also fall to their share. We can see no valid argument against such an arrangement. It is possible that a well-organised petition, asking for this reform, might do a very great deal in educating public opinion upon medical ethics.—Irish Citizen.

## COMING EVENTS

There will be a Votes for Women Fellowship meeting at the Philosophical Hall, Leeds, to-day (Friday), at 8 p.m. Speakers: Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Mrs. Cather. Chair: Walter Dodgson, Esq. The meeting is open to the public.

The Penal Reform League will hold its Annual Meeting at the Carlton Hall to-day (Friday), at 8 p.m. The Superintendent of the "Little Commonwealth" will speak on the self-government of girls and boys.

At the Suffrage Club to-day (Friday), at 8.30 p.m., Miss Evelyn Sharp will speak on "The Meaning of Militancy." Chair: H. W. Nesbitt, Esq.

The Men's Political Union are arranging a private variety entertainment at Cosmopolis, 121, High Holborn, on December 16, at 8 p.m. Particulars from Mrs. Dural, 18, Harrington Road, S.W.

The New Constitutional Society will hold a meeting at the N.C.S. Hall, Park Mansions Arcade, on December 16, at 3 p.m. Speakers: Miss E. S. Baes and Mrs. Richardson.

Mrs. Flora Annie Steel will speak on "Three Indian Women" at the International Women's Franchise Club on December 17, at 3.30.

The International Suffrage Shop is holding a Book Exhibition every day from 10-8 until December 24. Suffragists are invited to visit it.

The East London Federation of the W.S.P.U. and the Kensington W.S.P.U. will hold a Suffrage School, in Bow, December 29 to January 4; in Kensington, January 5 to January 11. Tickets and information from Miss E. Jenkins, 321, Roman Road, E.

## THE GOVERNMENT MEASURE CAMPAIGN

The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, who, in common with other Suffrage Societies, now demand a Government measure, have decided to hold a demonstration in the Albert Hall on February 14. Representatives from men's and women's organisations all over the country will be present, and every effort will be made to show how universal is the demand for the enfranchisement of women.

## SUFFRAGE WEEK IN DUBLIN

This has been a week of great importance in Dublin, for a Suffrage Conference has been held there at the Rotunda Concert Rooms from December 9 to 12. On Tuesday, the 9th, the subject discussed was "The Present Position of Woman's Suffrage"; on Wednesday, "Conditions of Women's Work in Ireland"; on Thursday, "Women's Trade Unions and the Vote"; and to-day (Friday), "If Women had Votes." Suffragists, representing many of the principal Societies, have been the speakers, together with women workers.

Next week we hope to publish an account of the Dublin Suffrage week by our Special Correspondent.

## THE LIBERAL WAY, TOO!

In a mound near Plattsmouth, Nebraska, fifty-eight women's skulls have been found with their faces turned towards the east. They are believed to have some archaeological interest, though the capitalist Press has not yet discovered what it is. Our archaeologist has come to the conclusion, after much cogitation, that the skulls may have been those of fifty-eight women suffragettes whom our Tory ancestors dealt with in their usual way.—International Socialist.

## A SUFFRAGIST SCOT

The following lines, to Mrs. Arncliffe Sennett on her departure for London, were written by a member of the Northern Men's Federation:—

Ye're leavin' dear auld Reekie—  
I hope it's no' for lang;  
Ye're leavin' dear auld Reekie  
For Lannan wi' its thrang.  
Whaur rulers strut about Whitehall,  
Puffed up wi' empty pride,  
Unheedin' Woman's righteous cause—  
The cause they'd fain deride.

Ye've struggled noo for many years,  
But victory's in sight,  
But hae no fear, tho' ye're awa',  
We'll haud till't day and night!  
We're bonnie fighters, ilka one,  
And that ye brawly ken,  
When we're oot for Votes for Women—  
Your bairns—the Northern Men!

Freedom's bluid runs in oor veins—  
Oor forebears' heritage—  
The glorious deeds o' auld lang syne  
(That brighten history's page)  
Then, who amang us wad be blate  
To answer duty's ca'p?  
God bless ye, Mistress Sennett,  
Wi' you we'll rise or fa'!

Guidbye, but haste ye back again,  
For, oh, we'll miss ye sair,  
Self-sacrificing, noble soul!  
Like you we need some mair,  
To stir the Scottish hearts anew,  
And, fearless, richt the wrang  
O' tortured women, vice and shame,  
Thro' Asquith, and his gang!

J. W. McLennan.

## SUFFRAGE DIRECTORY

- Actresses' Franchise League.**  
2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.
- Artists' Suffrage League.**  
253, King's Road, S.W.
- Australian and New Zealand Women Voters' Association.**  
610, International Women's Franchise Club, 2, Grafton Street, W.
- Catholic Women's Suffrage Society.**  
55, Berners Street, Oxford Street, W.
- Church League for Women's Suffrage.**  
6, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.
- Civil Service Suffrage Society.**  
19, Sotheby Road, Highbury.
- Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association.**  
45, Dover Street, W.
- Federated Council of Women's Suffrage Societies.**  
14 St. James Street, S.W.
- Forward Cymric Suffrage Union.**  
53, Wandsworth Bridge Road, S.W.
- Free Church League for Women's Suffrage.**  
2, Holmby View, Upper Clapton.
- Friends' League for Women's Suffrage.**  
Walden, Gloucester.
- Gymnastic Teachers' Suffrage Society.**  
2, York Place, Oxford Road, Manchester.
- International Suffrage Shop.**  
11, Adam Street, Adelphi, W.C.
- International Woman Suffrage Alliance.**  
7, Adam Street, Adelphi, W.C.
- International Women's Franchise Club.**  
9, Grafton Street, W.
- Irish League for Woman Suffrage.**  
The Union of the Four Provinces Club, 16, John Street, Adelphi, W.C.
- Irishwomen's Franchise League.**  
Ancient Concert Buildings, 64, Brunswick St., Dublin.
- Irishwomen's Reform League.**  
29, South Anne Street, Dublin.
- Irishwomen's Suffrage and Local Government Association.**  
163, Rathgar Road, Dublin.
- Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation.**  
25, South Anne Street, Dublin.
- Irishwomen's Suffrage Society.**  
27, Donegal Place, Belfast.
- Jewish League for Woman Suffrage.**  
33, Hyde Park Gardens, W.
- League of Justice.**  
12, South Molton Street, W.
- London Graduate Union for Woman Suffrage.**  
Chester Gate Halling.
- Marchers' Quire Yive Corps.**  
Datchet, Petworth, Sussex.
- Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage.**  
24 and 35, Ludgate Chambers, Ludgate Hill, E.C.
- Men's League for Woman Suffrage.**  
135, St. Stephen's House, Westminster.
- Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement.**  
13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.
- Men's Society for Women's Rights.**  
65, Avenue Chambers, Southampton Row, W.C.
- Munster Women's Franchise League.**  
85, Grand Parade, Cork.
- National Industrial and Professional Women's Suffrage Society.**  
5, John Dalton Street, Manchester.
- National Political League.**  
Bank Buildings, 14, St. James Street, S.W.
- National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.**  
14, Gt. Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.
- New Constitutional Society for Woman Suffrage.**  
8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.
- Northern Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage.**  
6, Wellington Road, St. John's Wood, N.W.
- People's Suffrage Federation.**  
51-2, Queen Anne's Chambers, Tottenham St., S.W.
- Scottish Churches League for Woman Suffrage.**  
11, Howe Street, Edinburgh.
- Scottish Federation for Women's Suffrage.**  
2, St. Andrew Square, Edinburgh.
- Spiritual Militancy League.**  
46, Queen's Road, Baywater, W.
- Suffrage Atelier.**  
Office: 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.  
Studio: 6, Stanlake Villas, Shepherd's Bush, W.
- Suffrage Club.**  
2, York Street, St. James, S.W.
- "Suffrage First" Committee.**  
4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.
- Suffragist Churchwomen's Protest Committee.**  
21, Downside Crescent, Hampstead, N.W.
- United Religious Women's Suffrage Societies.**  
13, Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane, E.C.
- Votes for Women Fellowship.**  
4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.
- Women's Sanitary Inspectors' Suffrage Society.**  
83, Sutherland Avenue, W.
- Women's Freedom League.**  
1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.
- Women's Silent Co-operation for Freedom.**  
16, Southfields Road, Epsom.
- Women's Social and Political Union.**  
Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.
- Women's Tax Resistance League.**  
10, Talbot House, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.
- Women Teachers' Franchise Union.**  
27, Muriel Road, Lee, S.E.
- Women Writers' Suffrage League.**  
Coventry Buildings, Kentish Town, W.C.

## FOR CHRISTMAS PRESENTS

## MADAME OLIVER'S CHRISTMAS EXHIBITION

Madame Oliver is now holding a Christmas present exhibition at 115, New Bond Street, a special feature of which is a display of "Woolmark" rugs and wraps. The wraps are fashioned on the lines of a Scottish plaid, and can be used for motor-ing, travelling, golfing, or evening wear; they are made in all sorts of beautiful colours. There are also carriage, railway, and perambulator rugs. The show, of course, contains all sorts of other charming things useful for presents—sofa cushions, shoe buckles, hair ornaments, and neck bands being a few. Altogether, a visit to Madame Oliver's showrooms is decidedly worth while for those who are seeking the right sort of Christmas present to buy.

## OLD ENGLISH FURNITURE

Messrs. Story and Triggs' book of "Re-plicas of Old English Furniture" depicts rooms which are so attractive that the only difficulty is to know which one likes best. There are halls, dining-rooms, drawing-rooms, and bedrooms furnished in each succeeding style from Jacobean up to the present day, and the rooms look not only beautiful, but also comfortable. Story and Triggs sell genuine antiques as well as "modern old furniture," and anyone who is furnishing a house would be well advised to inspect their stock.

## A CHRISTMAS BAZAAR

There is a very good Christmas bazaar in progress at Messrs. John Barnes, of 191 to 217, Finchley Road, and apart from the

## QUALITY AND VALUE

A perusal of the illustrated catalogue of the Goldsmiths and Silversmiths Company—which can be obtained post free from 112, Regent Street, London, W.—convinces one that purchasers of Gem Jewellery and Gold and Silver Plate may there obtain the utmost value for their money.—[ADVT.]

## HAYFORD'S

## "SPECIAL" SKIN GLOVES

WHITE. 2 Buttons. 1/6. 2/6. 3/6. 4/6. 5/6. 6/6. 7/6. 8/6. 9/6. 10/6. 11/6. 12/6. 13/6. 14/6. 15/6. 16/6. 17/6. 18/6. 19/6. 20/6. 21/6. 22/6. 23/6. 24/6. 25/6. 26/6. 27/6. 28/6. 29/6. 30/6. 31/6. 32/6. 33/6. 34/6. 35/6. 36/6. 37/6. 38/6. 39/6. 40/6. 41/6. 42/6. 43/6. 44/6. 45/6. 46/6. 47/6. 48/6. 49/6. 50/6. 51/6. 52/6. 53/6. 54/6. 55/6. 56/6. 57/6. 58/6. 59/6. 60/6. 61/6. 62/6. 63/6. 64/6. 65/6. 66/6. 67/6. 68/6. 69/6. 70/6. 71/6. 72/6. 73/6. 74/6. 75/6. 76/6. 77/6. 78/6. 79/6. 80/6. 81/6. 82/6. 83/6. 84/6. 85/6. 86/6. 87/6. 88/6. 89/6. 90/6. 91/6. 92/6. 93/6. 94/6. 95/6. 96/6. 97/6. 98/6. 99/6. 100/6. 101/6. 102/6. 103/6. 104/6. 105/6. 106/6. 107/6. 108/6. 109/6. 110/6. 111/6. 112/6. 113/6. 114/6. 115/6. 116/6. 117/6. 118/6. 119/6. 120/6. 121/6. 122/6. 123/6. 124/6. 125/6. 126/6. 127/6. 128/6. 129/6. 130/6. 131/6. 132/6. 133/6. 134/6. 135/6. 136/6. 137/6. 138/6. 139/6. 140/6. 141/6. 142/6. 143/6. 144/6. 145/6. 146/6. 147/6. 148/6. 149/6. 150/6. 151/6. 152/6. 153/6. 154/6. 155/6. 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# CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS.

Single insertion, 24 words or less, 2s. 1d. per word for every additional word (four insertions for the price of three)

All advertisements must be prepaid. To ensure insertion in our next issue, all advertisements must be received not later than Tuesday afternoon. Address, the Advertisement Manager, Votes for Women, 47, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

## NEXT SUNDAY'S SERVICES

**ETHICAL CHURCH.** Queen's Road, W. December 14, 11. Dr. Stanton Coit, "Shall the Soul of Great Britain be our God?" 7. "The Character of Captain Scott."

**ST. MARY-AT-HILL.** Church Army Church, Eastcheap. Sundays, 9 and 6. Views, orchestra, band. Prebendary Carlile.

## THEATRES, CONCERTS, &c.

**SAVOY THEATRE, STRAND.** Lessee and Manager, H. B. Irving. TO-NIGHT at 8.15. Matinee Weds. and Sat. at 2.30. **THE GRAND SEIGNEUR.** H. B. IRVING. **MARIE LOHR.** Box-office (Savoy Court, Strand) 10 to 10. Tele. 2603 Ger.

## WOMAN SUFFRAGE MEETINGS.

**PENAL REFORM LEAGUE.** Annual Meeting, Carlton Hall, Westminster, Friday, December 12, 8 p.m. The superintendent of the "Little Commonwealth" will tell of self-government girls and boys.

**NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY** for Women's Suffrage. Tuesday, December 16, New Constitutional Hall, Park Mansions Arcade, "The Middle Class Woman," Miss E. S. Bass; "Local Government from a Working Woman's point of view," Mrs. Richardson. Chair, Mrs. St. Aubyn.

**INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S FRANCHISE CLUB,** 9, Grafton Street, W. Subscription, 1 guinea. Wednesday, December 17, 8.30, Club Tea. "Three Indian Women," Mrs. Flora Annie Steel.

## BOARD RESIDENCE, Etc.

**ABSOLUTE Privacy, Quietude, and Refinement, no extras.** At the Strand Imperial Hotel, opposite Gaiety Theatre, ladies will find the freshest, warmest, daintiest, cosiest quarters; sumptuous bedroom with h. and c. water fitted; breakfast, bath, attendance, and lights from 5s. 6d.; en pension 9s.; special terms for long stay; finest English provisions.—Manageress, 4788 Gerard.

**BRIGHTON.—TITCHFIELD HOUSE,** 21, Upper Rock Gardens, off Marine Parade. Good table, congenial society. Terms from 25s.—Mrs. Gray, Member W.S.P.U.

**FOLKESTONE.** "Trevorra," Bouverie Road West. Board-residence, excellent position, close to sea, lease, and theatre; separate tables; moderate terms; private apartments if required.—Miss Key (W.S.P.U.).

**LONDON.—HOSTEL FOR LADIES,** 31, Oakley Square, N.W. Bed and breakfast 2s. 6d.; bed sitting-room and breakfast 11s. 6d. weekly. Full board optional. Comfortable; moderate; central.

**LONDON, W.**—Refined home, quiet and pleasantly situated, near trains and buses, 24 minutes to Charing Cross; highly recommended; terms moderate.—34, Harrogate Road, Chiswick.

**LONDON, W.C.—113, Gower Street.** Refined home; breakfast, dinner, and full board Sunday; cubicle, 15s. 8d.; rooms, 19s. 6d. to 25s.; gentlemen, 19s. 6d.; bed and breakfast, 3s.

**PRIVATE HOTEL, for Ladies only;** quiet and refined; 13, St. George's Square, Westminster; bedroom, breakfast, bath, and attendance, from 4s. 6d.—Write or wire Miss Davies.

**RESIDENTIAL Club for Ladies.**—Cubicles from 18s. 6d. per week with board; rooms 25s.; also by the day.—Mrs. Campbell-Wilkinson, 49, Weymouth Street, Portland Place, London, W.

**SUPERIOR BOARD-RESIDENCE** at 26, Kensington Gardens Square, Hyde Park. Reliable select house and positive comfort, cleanliness, quiet, excellent table, close Queen's Road Tube. From 25s. Highly recommended.

**XMAS HOLIDAYS.**—Lady would like to be received as paying guest for a few days in jolly family or boarding house; seaside preferred.—All particulars Box 482, 47, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street.

## TO BE LET OR SOLD.

**COMFORTABLY FURNISHED** six-roomed flat, three months from January. Every modern convenience. Twenty minutes from West End. Three guineas weekly.—25, Beaufort Mansions, Chelsea.

**LARGE ROOM** to let, suitable for Meetings, At Home, Dances, Lectures. Refreshments provided.—Apply Alan's Tea Rooms, 263, Oxford Street.

**NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY'S** HALL in Knightsbridge to be let for meetings, &c.—For all particulars apply Secretary, N.C.S.W.S., 8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.

**TO LET, FURNISHED,** a small FLAT in Kensington. Two bedrooms, two sitting-rooms, bathroom, and kitchen; electric light and telephone; rent 24 guineas a week.—Mrs C. S., Votes for Women, 47, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

**TO LET UNFURNISHED.**—Self-contained suite, 4 rooms and bathroom; gas, electric light; 5 minutes from Queen's Road and Notting Hill Gate Stations; rent 20s. a week.—Apply Housekeeper, 4, Prince's Terrace, Palace Court, Baywater.

## WANTED.

**SMALL FLAT** wanted in London; 4 rooms, bath, electric light; moderate rent.—Apply Box 480, Votes for Women, 47, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

## BOOKS

**"THE WOMAN WITH THE PACK"** can now be obtained direct from the author, bound in cloth, for 1s. 1d. post free.—Miss Vaughan, 25, Beesborough Gardens, London, S.W.

**64-PAGE BOOK** about HERBS and HOW TO USE THEM, free. Send for one.—Trimmell, The Herbalist, 144, Richmond Road, Cardiff. Established 1879.

## EDUCATIONAL

**ADA MOORE** gives Lessons in Singing and Voice Production; diction a speciality.—106, Beaufort Mansions, London, S.W. West End Studio. Visits Brighton weekly.

**CO-EDUCATION.**—West Heath School, Ferncroft Avenue, Hampstead. Principal, Mrs. Ennis Richmond. In addition to the Day School, a few Boarders are now taken who can spend week-ends with Principal in the country.

**LINDUM HOUSE, BEXHILL-ON-SEA.** Boarding School for Girls on Progressive Thought lines.—Principal, Miss Richardson, B.A. The school stands in its own grounds, where tennis, hockey, and cricket are played. Home care. Thorough tuition. Entire charge of children coming from abroad.

**MODERN SCHOOL FOR GIRLS,** Letchworth.—Principal, Miss Cartwright, M.A.; staff includes specialists and University graduates; pupils prepared for professional entrance examinations; bracing moorland air; home comforts.

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